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THE HISTORY
OF THE
WESLEYAN METHODIST
MISSIONARY SOCIETY

BY
G. G. FINDLAY, D.D.
AND
W. W. HOLDSWORTH, M.A., B.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

‘Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God, who created all things; to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.’—ST. PAUL.

‘I look upon all the world as my parish.’—JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON
THE EPWORTH PRESS
J. ALFRED SHARP

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EMMANUELⁿ 7

First Edition, July, 1921

35923

8-6-1925

THE NEW YORK PRESS
LONDON

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PART I
AUSTRALIA

I

THE FIRST PLANTING IN NEW SOUTH WALES

The Growth of the Australian Colonies—A Convict Settlement—Governor Phillip—Samuel Marsden—Three notable Class-leaders—The first Missionary to Australia—' John Lees' Acre '—An Asylum for the Poor—The *Australian Magazine*—Arrival of additional Missionaries—Leigh's Return—Appointed to New Zealand.

THE growth of the Australian Colonies is one of the marvels of the nineteenth century. Their history began with the landing of Governor Phillip, with two ship-loads of convicts at Botany Bay on January 20, 1788 ; within one hundred and twenty years of that time the convict settlement had become a self-governing Commonwealth of 4,000,000 English-speaking people, occupying an island four-fifths of the size of Europe, with a foreign trade amounting (in imports and exports) to the value of £100,000,000 annually. Second only to the Dominion of Canada in magnitude and wealth amongst the colonial states, the Australian Commonwealth is surpassed by none in the ardour of its loyalty to the British Empire, a loyalty which thousands of its sons have proved by the sacrifice of life and blood on the South African veldt, at the Dardanelles, and in France.

This continent of the Southern Seas, which has become a chief home of the British race, was probably sighted by European navigators before the middle of the sixteenth century ; the Spaniards and the Dutch¹ were the first to make acquaintance with its coast : ' New Holland,' the designation first given to the country, and the name ' Torres Straits,' by which the narrow waters separating Australia from New Guinea are known, bear witness to this priority. Not till 1899, when

¹ ' We must ascribe to the Dutch the merit of being our harbingers ; though we afterwards went on beyond them in their own trade.' This observation of the Editors of Captain Cook's later *Voyages* (1784) applies to much in the relations of these two great maritime peoples.

Dampier surveyed the western shores (which he found barren and uninhabited), did British enterprise contribute to the exploration of this new world. Captain James Cook discovered, in 1770, the more attractive eastern coast, and was the first to define the shape of the mighty island and to disclose to his countrymen its magnitude and possible value.¹ Landing in Botany Bay (so called from the rich flora displayed behind the shore), he took possession of the country for the British Crown, giving it the name of 'New South Wales,' from the aspect of the coast-line and landscape. The British Government just then was at a loss in dealing with its condemned criminals, whom it could no longer deport, since the Rebellion, to the American colonies. An experiment was made in transportation to West Africa; but the mortality amongst the wretches landed on that coast was appalling. Botany Bay, upon Captain Cook's report, appeared to offer an ideal location for a convict settlement; abundant space, a wholesome climate, a soil adapted to agriculture, and remoteness and isolation. Here the undesirable might be disposed of to their own and their country's gain. By suitable discipline the penal colony was to be made reformatory; the convicts would be in a position in due time to earn their release by good conduct, they would become tillers of the land or useful mechanics, removed from temptation and making a new start in a new country, and England would secure what was likely to prove in the future a valuable colonial possession, thus turning its wastrels to fruitful account. By such considerations Viscount Sydney, the Colonial Secretary of the second William Pitt's first government, was led to send out, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Phillip, the expedition whose forces, after reconnoitring Botany Bay, ultimately landed in Port Jackson, the splendid harbour a little to the north of Botany Bay, and laid the foundations of the town of Sydney.

The colony of New South Wales was fortunate indeed in its situation; and its chief was an able, energetic, and high-principled man. But the human material supplied for its

¹ 'To the English nation, the most momentous voyage of discovery that has ever taken place, for it practically gave birth to the great Australasian Colonies'; see the Preface to *Captain Cook's Journal*, edited by W. J. L. Wharton (1893). There is an excellent short *Life of Captain Cook*, from the pen of Walter Besant, in the series of *English Men of Action* (Macmillan).

making was of a most unpromising kind, the sweepings of the British jails and hulks. Beside the 756 convicts (men and women) conveyed in Phillip's ships, there were 200 marines, including officers with soldiers, a number of whom brought wives with them, intending to make a home in the new country. Most of these men proved, however, little fitted for any service or employment beyond their military duties. No proper staff had been provided for the management and training of the convict settlers. Only on the strong representations of William Wilberforce was a chaplain assigned to Phillip's fleet ; and the clergyman appointed, though a pious and well-meaning man, was without the force of character necessary for his task ; no schoolmaster of any kind accompanied the expedition. Live stock and seed had been supplied, but agricultural implements and equipment were wanting. A single man was discovered in the whole company competent to give instruction in land cultivation, but he died within three years. The first free settlers, including a number of farmers, did not arrive until 1793 ; these were ill-found and scurvy-stricken. Under such conditions tillage made scant progress ; by the year 1791 no more than 700 acres of land had been reclaimed. The colony being expected to support itself, supplies from home were slenderly furnished, while economy and temperance were habits foreign to most of Phillip's subjects. Within two years the community was on the brink of starvation,¹ which it escaped only through the Governor's careful management, and the timely arrival of a provision ship from England.

The moral difficulties of the situation were greater even than those of the material order. The Governor set a fine example, making strenuous and in the main well-directed efforts to secure order, and to reform his convict charge ; in some instances his attempts were notably successful. But the military officers, for the most part, hindered rather than helped his benevolent policy ; and the lack of assistants and of appliances made success in the main object of the Colony for the present almost hopeless. His health failed, and in 1792 he was compelled to return to England, defeated but not dishonoured. In the midst of his troubles he found means to carry on extensive surveys both by land and sea.

¹ It is a curious coincidence that about the same time the first settlers in Upper Canada, through a very different train of causes, were threatened with the same fate.

Not till 1795 was a successor to Governor Phillip appointed ; meanwhile a military ring established themselves in power, who substituted martial for civil law, and took measures to secure a monopoly of trade, which they shamelessly exploited. Against this faction, which secured powerful allies in England and debauched the Colony, successive Governors contended in vain. Probably no other British Colony has ever fallen into a condition so debased and disgraceful as that in which the settlement of New South Wales existed for sixteen years after Lieutenant-Colonel Phillip's departure. Moral restraints and the common decencies of life were cast aside. *Rum* was recognized as the ordinary medium of exchange. The more desperate convicts escaped, and lived in the wilds as marauding 'bush-rangers.' Not a few who had been emancipated returned to their evil ways ; floggings and hangings failed to suppress the crimes of violence with which the Colony was rife. Sydney, and the little towns about it, were 'like unto Gomorrha.'

At length the scandal of New South Wales became intolerable ; the inquiry instituted in 1808, on the recall of Governor Bligh, who had been actually put under arrest and deposed by the military commandant, led to drastic changes ; and Lieutenant Lachlan Macquarie, who ruled the Colony from 1809 to 1821, was placed in effective authority. With the aid of the more respectable settlers, whose numbers were steadily increasing, he succeeded in putting the affairs of New South Wales upon a sound basis, and earned the title of 'father of the Colony.' But the character of its first batch of immigrants, and the abuses which prevailed during the time of military ascendancy, left their mark in the history of New South Wales, and on the character of early Australian society.

Samuel Marsden was sent out to the Colony in 1794 as Junior Chaplain. This notable man was the son of a Methodist family belonging to Horsforth, near Leeds. He had come at Cambridge University under Charles Simeon's influence, and was a true missionary and a man of earnest faith. He soon succeeded to the Chief Chaplaincy. Endowed with the energy and spirit that had been lacking in his predecessor, Marsden fearlessly denounced both public and private vice, and stood by the Governors in their attempts at reform. In course of time he became a power in the Colony, and did more than

any other single man to stem the tide of lawlessness. Marsden had his faults ; he was taxed with ' severity as a magistrate,'¹ and with ' a too obvious desire to make the best of both worlds ' ; but the historians of Australia and New Zealand refer to him generally in terms of warm commendation. They speak of his ' heroic unselfishness and steadiness of purpose, and readiness to make any personal sacrifice for the good of others,' of ' his overwhelming sympathy for the suffering and oppressed.'

Not even twenty years' experience as a chaplain in New South Wales [it is said] could make a misanthrope of a man like Marsden. . . . His letters to the Church Missionary Society are marvels of matured sagacity, of searching insight into human nature ; he never despaired of bringing good out of the degraded convict or the ferocious savage.

This brave, devoted, and catholic-minded Anglican missionary assisted materially in the introduction of Methodism to Australia ; and we shall meet him again when we come to the story of the New Zealand Mission. John Watsford, who knew him in boyhood, speaks of him as

a grand old man, who exercised a great influence for good on the early days of our history, and was much respected by everybody.

In the year 1811 Marsden wrote to England asking that a schoolmaster might be sent to teach the convicts' children. Thomas Bowden, a London Methodist and a zealous Class-leader—master of the Charity School in Great Queen Street—was the man selected. He arrived at Sydney in January, 1812. Six months later he appealed for help to his Methodist friends at home, reporting the formation of two small Society Classes in Sydney and one at Windsor, a township situated some thirty miles inland from the capital. He refers to the holding of the ' first Class-meeting ' (in Sydney) on March 6 of that year, and to the lovefeast taking place four weeks later, in the little Windsor band united with the Sydney Society, when ' God was eminently present and gave us such a humble, simple, loving spirit that the place was a little heaven ! ' ' Though we have a few worthy clergymen here ' (Marsden and his colleagues), he goes on to say, ' there is a great famine

¹ Transgressors are said to have prayed when about to appear before Marsden as he sat on the Bench : ' Lord, have mercy upon us, for his Reverence has none ! '

of the Word of God, while iniquity exceedingly abounds.' He entreats that 'some Ministers may be sent us, whom God has appointed for so great a work.' He and his friends will be answerable for the support of *two*, if the right men can be found and their outfit provided from England.

I am sure [Bowden concludes] Mr. Marsden would be glad to see the different settlements provided, especially if we proceed in the primitive way of Methodism—not in hostility against the Church, but rather in unison with it, not so much to make a party distinct from the Church as to save souls in the Church. Of course, the Preacher should not be radically a Dissenter; if possible, one attached to the Establishment, as Mr. Wesley, Dr. Clarke, and most of the primitive Preachers were.

Apart from the closing stipulation (in which Marsden's hand may be traced) Thomas Bowden's letter reads much like the early appeals to Wesley and the Conference from America. The 'zealous Class-leader' found amongst the early settlers a handful of pious Methodists, whom he gathered round him in Society; these supplied a little Church in the wilderness and a base for the operations of the itinerant Preacher. This letter was followed up by a formal application addressed to the Missionary Committee and 'signed, in the name and on behalf of the Society, by Thomas Bowden and J. Hosking, Leaders,' which gives a careful account of the nature of the country and the condition of its people,¹ and sets forth effectively its spiritual need. The Governor and the clergy are described in eulogistic terms; their goodwill is counted upon for the proposed mission, on the understanding, however, that 'the exertions' of the Methodist Preachers 'did not imply an opposition to the Established Church.' In this understanding lay the seeds of future trouble. Bowden's Anglican patrons appear to have expected that Methodism in Australia would be an auxiliary to the English Church; and the question as between the Methodists and the Establishment which had been settled in England with so much difficulty after Wesley's death had to be fought out again in the colony.

Send us a Preacher [the writers plead] tolerably supplied with wearing apparel and books, and, by the blessing of God, he shall be no further expense to you.

¹ Not a word is said in this long missionary appeal about the *Aborigines*. It is too evident that these miserable folk were a negligible quantity in the eyes of the settlers.

The final assurance, given on behalf of the nineteen New South Wales Methodists, the Missionary Committee found to be sanguine indeed !

Bowden and Hosking estimate the number of souls in the colony as 20,000 at this date—'natives of the British Isles and their descendants.' They say, too truly, that

from the description of people sent hither much good cannot be expected. The higher ranks of those who were formerly convicts are either solely occupied in amassing wealth or rioting in sensuality ; the lower orders are indeed the filth and offscouring of the earth in point of wickedness.

Of the above number 1,000, it is computed, were soldiers, and 2,000 convicts still under sentence. Every year fresh consignments of reprobates were shipped to New South Wales, adding to the factors of its vice and crime. In 1837 it was supposed that quite *a third* of the population, then amounting to about 35,000, had reached Australia in this character.¹

The John Hosking who signed the letter of invitation to the Missionary Committee had lived in the colony since 1809 ; he was of the same profession as Bowden, being master of a Girls' Orphan School. His son became the first Mayor of Sydney. The Leader of the little Class at Windsor was Edward Eagar, an Irishman educated for the Bar, who had been sentenced to transportation for forgery and embezzlement. In his Irish prison he had been brought to repentance through Methodist visitation. His exemplary conduct won for him release, and his abilities quickly raised him to an honourable place in the community. Bowden refers to him as 'of a humble, affectionate disposition, and zealous in the cause of God.' At Eagar's house in Sydney Samuel Leigh stayed on the night of his arrival ; his host introduced him the next morning to Governor Macquarie, and proved his right-hand helper. This gentleman became the first Circuit Steward in Australia. In

¹ The reformatory purpose with which the penal settlement was founded was happily realized in a large proportion of instances, where men who had arrived with the brand of the law upon them earned their pardon by diligence and orderliness, and became honourable and even prosperous citizens. Their descendants are to be found to-day amongst the most respected families in the colony. The barbarous severity of the English Criminal Law in former times not unfrequently led to the infliction of death or penal servitude for comparatively venial offences. At the time when Trade Unions and organized strikes were illegal, leaders of the work-people were sentenced to transportation ; and amongst these exiles were men of marked ability and excellent character—some of them, indeed, Local Preachers. Methodism in New South Wales received valuable recruits through this channel, and Liberal politics no little stimulus.

his first letter Bowden mentions also 'a soldier or two of the 75th Regiment' as belonging to the original Sydney Society. Here he doubtless refers to Sergeant James Scott, who had been converted to God and united to the Methodist Church when on service in the West Indies. Distinguished for his probity and force of character, Sergeant Scott, on his retirement from the army, was appointed by Governor Macquarie to an important post on the Civil Service, and spent the rest of his life in the colony. He was the third Class-leader amongst the Sydney Methodists, and one of the five members of the first Circuit Quarterly Meeting. Out of his own means he built the first Methodist chapel in the city, situated in Prince's Street, which was opened in 1819. Scott's signature, along with those of the other Leaders named, appears at the foot of the letter of thanks addressed from Sydney to the 'Honoured and Reverend Fathers' of the Missionary Committee, dated on March 2, 1816, seven months after Samuel Leigh's arrival. These four were the lay pioneers of Methodism in Australia—two schoolmasters, a lawyer, and a soldier, one of them an ex-convict.

At the time when this cry from the far-off 'Macedonia' reached England, British Methodism was unable to make any immediate response. The Missionary Society did not yet exist; the few supporters of Foreign Missions had their hands more than full with the work on hand in America and with the preparations for Dr. Coke's great venture in the East Indies. The Sierra Leone Mission had been commenced a year or two before. The Mission Fund was deep in debt, and the home funds of the Church were desperately straitened in this time of national poverty. But the success of the movement commenced at Leeds in the autumn of 1813 put a new face on the situation, and encouraged the Missionary Committee to contemplate undertakings which had seemed *wholly* beyond its power. Now it was clear that the summons from the Southern Ocean was of the Lord, and the London Secretaries looked round for a fit man to send to New South Wales.

Samuel Leigh, a zealous probationer of three years' standing and a volunteer for foreign service, had been chosen for Montreal; but the uncertain outlook in North America, where Great Britain was at war with the United States, occasioned

the cancelling of this appointment,¹ and the young missionary was transferred to the other side of the world.² It was at first intended to give two Missionaries to the new station; but William Davies, the senior Preacher assigned to New South Wales, was required for Sierra Leone, and Leigh had to go alone. Samuel Leigh was of Staffordshire birth, and of fair education. Reared in the atmosphere of the Church of England, he retained a kindly feeling for it; but he traced his knowledge of salvation to the Wesleyan cottage-services held in his native village. He joined an Independent Church at Hanley, and subsequently entered Dr. Bogue's Theological Academy, with the view, apparently, of entering the Independent ministry. But the Calvinism of his teachers affronted young Leigh, and he threw in his lot finally with the Methodists, and was invited to assist Joseph Sutcliffe, then travelling the Burslem Circuit. Here he met with Dr. Coke, who fired the young Preacher with his own missionary ardour. In 1812 he was appointed to the Shaftesbury Circuit, where he laboured with extraordinary zeal. Leigh was recognized as a man of uncommon activity, both of mind and body, of high courage and robust faith, wholly free from self-seeking, and animated by the enthusiasm of the first Methodist Preachers. Had he known how to husband his strength, and had his judgement and patience and administrative skill been equal to his powers of initiative, Samuel Leigh would have been a Missionary of the first rank. He was nobly fitted for the work of a pioneer evangelist, and met the hardships and perils of his task in Australia and New Zealand with a simple heroism and a cheerful trust in God beyond all praise. His tombstone in Reading churchyard bears the inscription: 'The first Methodist Missionary to the South Seas'—an honour which Samuel Leigh well deserves to bear.

Leigh's mother vehemently opposed his going abroad; she consented at last in the following terms:

Son Samuel, if the Lord has called thee to be a Missionary, He will no doubt enable me to give thee up. May the Lord Himself go with thee!

¹ Leigh's passage was already taken, and he was on the point of embarking, when a letter arrived from Montreal asking that the new Preacher's coming should be postponed. His chagrin was turned into thanksgiving when three months later news arrived that the ship in which he should have sailed had foundered, four persons only escaping the wreck.

² 'New South Wales' appears in the Stations for 1817 as the last Circuit in 'Asia,' following the six Ceylon Stations 'Madras' and 'Bombay.'

He was ordained under the hands of Dr. Adam Clarke, the President of that year, in October, 1814; and, according to the usage of the time, obtained a licence to preach from the Lord Mayor of London. It was thought desirable to secure further credentials for a Missionary to the new colony, and Dr. Clarke wrote to Viscount Sidmouth, a member of the Government with whom he had some influence, stating that Mr. Leigh was going to New South Wales in 'the double capacity' of Preacher and schoolmaster.¹ It was promised that his coming to Sydney should be notified from the Colonial Office; but Lord Sidmouth's reply presumed that if Mr. Leigh was 'going out as a Missionary' he would proceed under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; otherwise the Colonial Government could only recognize him officially in the capacity of a schoolmaster. This correspondence caused some embarrassment, and Leigh found it necessary to declare to the Missionary Committee:

I go as your Missionary, depending upon you and holding myself responsible to you for my conduct, and not as the hired servant of the colonists, of whom I know nothing.

His *Life*, written by Alexander Strachan,² intimates that it was necessary for him to make this attitude very clear at Sydney.

Leigh embarked at Portsmouth on February 25, and landed at Port Jackson on August 10, 1815, the vessel sailing by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and encountering dangers both from enemy ships and from a succession of heavy storms. Like most of the early Missionaries, he exercised a useful Mission on ship-board. Governor Macquarie,³ though disappointed in his hope

¹ Dr. Clarke seems to have supposed that Leigh might be partly employed as a Government teacher; this was the case with the first Ceylon Missionaries; but neither the Missionary Committee nor Leigh contemplated such divided service.

² Published by the Methodist Book-Room, 1863.

³ The worthy Governor stood the Methodist Preacher's friend on some critical occasions. One day he was dining with the magistrates and Government officers at Windsor, and the resident magistrate asked in conversation whether His Excellency was aware of the visits of the Missionary Leigh to the township, and his attempts to make Methodists of the people, saying that in his own opinion it would be well to send the man 'to work with the chain-gang in the Newcastle coal-mines'! Another guest advised that it would be better to leave him at liberty, but 'to keep a vigilant eye upon him.' The Governor assented to the latter advice, which, indeed, he had been acting upon for some time. 'I have now,' he added, 'sufficient evidence that he is doing good everywhere.' Then, turning to the truculent magistrate, he said: 'Sir, when Mr. Leigh comes here again I desire that you will call the servants of the Government into the store-room, that he may preach to them. Remember, I wish this to be regularly done in future.'

of securing a new schoolmaster, and expressing frankly his dislike of sectarianism, and regret that Leigh had come 'as a Wesleyan Missionary,' nevertheless, on hearing an explanation of his views and purposes, said :

I believe your intentions are good, and therefore you may expect from me every encouragement. I wish you the same success in your Mission you wish for yourself.

This assurance was made good. The Chief Chaplain gave a kindly reception to the new-comer—Samuel Marsden had not forgotten his early days—and was prepared to treat the Methodist Preacher as a fellow worker. He found in Leigh a man after his own heart, and the two became hearty friends. Leigh, on his part, avoided all appearance of rivalry with the clergy ; he observed in this respect the wishes expressed in his invitation sent from Sydney, and the instructions of the Missionary Committee, with which his own judgement concurred. It is pleasant to recognize here, as was the case in West Africa, the friendly and Christian relations which the Anglican and Wesleyan Missionaries held towards each other, an attitude, on the part of the former, the opposite of that prevailing in the American colonies. In both these instances the clergymen concerned were associated with the Church Missionary Society.

Leigh found the three Classes and nineteen members of Society reported three years earlier reduced to a third of those numbers. He was able immediately to start another Class in Sydney, and three others within a short time at Parramatta, Windsor, and Castlereagh¹; and reported a membership of thirty within the first few months. A preaching-room was hired, to hold 200 people, at 'The Rocks,' in Sydney, near Thomas Bowden's house ; this building was speedily filled. It served the Sydney congregation until the building of the Prince's Street Chapel in 1819. Other preaching-places were mapped out at the townships above-named and in a number of additional settlements. By the end of the first year a 'Circuit' had been constituted, with Methodist meetings and usages in regular observance, including a Sunday school.

¹ Parramatta, the residence of the Governor, stood in a pleasant and fertile district fourteen miles inland from Sydney. Castlereagh was a farming township near Windsor, at the foot of the Blue Mountains.

Leigh showed great diligence and energy, and was well supported by his lay helpers. Notable conversions attended his preaching during the early period, particularly that of James Watsford of Parramatta (father of the Fijian Missionary, John Watsford), who was well known for many years as the proprietor and driver of the stage-coach from Sydney to Parramatta. The Quarterly Meeting found itself at the end of the first year with a debit balance of £30, which its members settled by dividing the debt amongst them. The Missionary's allowances as fixed at this time amounted to £10 quarterage, with the addition of board, washing, fuel, postage and stationery, travelling expenses, and furniture provided. During the second year, after visiting all the principal settlements, Leigh reports to the Committee :

My Circuit extends 150 miles, which distance I travel in ten days. I preach at fifteen places, and in every place there appears to be a desire to hear the Word of God. . . . There is every encouragement we can expect from the state of the colony. The people are very hospitable, and many have been so to me. I have seen four Sunday schools established, which are now in a flourishing state.

He asks for the necessary books, saying that all he brought out with him are in use.

I will give you [he continues] an account of a Sabbath day's work in the country. I preach at ten o'clock in the morning ; dine, and ride seven miles, and preach at two ; ride six miles, and preach at five ; from thence I ride six miles, and preach at seven in the evening. I am sometimes afraid that my constitution will not stand the labour, the climate being so very hot, and having to travel in the heat of the day. But the pleasing sight of the people flocking to the house of prayer, some with chairs and others with stools on their shoulders to sit upon when assembled to hear the Word of God, urges me to persevere, and while I am praying and working for their souls I forget my fatigue. . . . A poor man walked fourteen miles a few days since to consult me about the salvation of his soul.

Leigh's encounter with John Lees of Castlereagh was amongst the most striking incidents in his pioneer journeys. He had heard of a Staffordshire farmer at this distant place, and reached his house somewhat late, armed with a letter of introduction. The surly man refused him all hospitality or facility for preaching, but pointed him to the house of a neighbour, two

miles distant, who was reputed to be a Bible-reader. Hither the wearied Missionary and horse travelled. Knocking at the door, Leigh cried out: 'Will you receive a Wesleyan Missionary?' A sturdy lad appeared, who, seizing the bridle in one hand and the stirrup in the other, exclaimed: 'Get off, sir! My father will be glad to see you.' On Leigh's entering the family were found assembled for worship. 'Perhaps you will take this duty off my hands,' were the father's first words. Opening the Bible, Leigh turned to the thirty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, and read, with uncontrollable emotion: 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them,' and so on—a prophecy, as Colwell remarks, 'afterwards to be fulfilled on that spot.' As the company rose from their knees the host grasped his visitor's hand and said:

We have been praying for three years that God would send us a Missionary; now that you are come we are right glad to see you. We had not heard of your arrival in the colony.

This was John Lees, who had come out as a soldier in the New South Wales Corps and shared for some time in the misdoings of that notorious company.¹ He had retired from the service and received a grant of land, on which he was now living. He married and reared a numerous family. Some time before this he had narrowly escaped death from snake-bite, an experience which led him to repentance and a complete change of life. He owed much at this crisis to the influence of a neighbouring clergyman.

Lees was a man of deep piety and of scrupulous consistency, mighty in prayer and bold in his confession of Christ, and withal a liberal and cheerful giver. Benjamin Carvosso relates, in illustration of his sensitive devoutness, how in a rainy harvest-time the two were walking through the fields and the Minister made some commonplace remark about 'the bad weather.' His companion turned upon him with a look of surprise, almost of indignation, and said very firmly: 'I think, sir, the weather will always be good!' Next day, to be sure, by a sudden turn of the season, the clouds dispersed, and John Lees carried his wheat home but little damaged. 'I was left,'

¹ This body of troops, raised in England for service in the colony, had been the chief instrument of the abuses and misgovernment referred to on p. 16. It was disbanded, and its chief officer cashiered, after an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the mutiny against Governor Macquarie's predecessor.

writes Carvosso, 'to meditate on the instruction in righteousness I had received.'

In this saintly farmer Methodism won a staunch friend and a shining example of the power of godliness. John Lees counts as a fifth added to the four lay fathers of Australian Methodism we have mentioned. He built the first Australian Methodist chapel—a plain weatherboard structure at Castlereagh, which was opened for Divine worship on October 7, 1817, and served its sacred purpose for nearly a generation. At the same time he endowed the Mission with an acre of his land, contributing its full annual produce to the funds of the Society. In later years he used to say that this had been his best investment, for 'since that time the neighbours all observed that my wheat grew thicker and stronger than theirs!' Probably good farming had something to do with the superiority of Lees' crops, and God's blessing followed upon competent and conscientious industry. The present Wesleyan church at Castlereagh stands upon 'John Lees' acre.'

The Missionary found himself often in company far different from that of his friends at Castlereagh. Escaped criminals and desperadoes invested the country roads, especially on the borders of the colony, which Leigh traversed unattended, and his life was many times in danger; but he met with respect, and even kindness, where it was least expected; and the wild Natives never harmed him. 'I have gone through troops of savages,' he writes, 'in safety.' He preached in Newcastle, far north of Sydney at the mouth of the Hunter River, to the incorrigible convicts drafted there from other stations. Here he found a congregation of 800, with no Minister on the spot, and pleaded that a Missionary should be found for these chief of sinners, amongst whom his preaching produced a saving, gracious effect. He extended his round as far as Bathurst, which lies beyond the Blue Mountains 120 miles west of Sydney, where Macquarie had established the first township on the inland plateau. In this place he gathered a small Society, furnishing a base for future advance into the continent.

To Leigh belongs also the honour of originating the oldest institutions of public philanthropy in New South Wales. He was great in starting things and setting those about him to work; no sooner did he see a need than he laid hold of the readiest means for supplying it. Distressed by the poverty and

sickness prevalent in Sydney, which were due chiefly to the ignorance and low habits of many of the people, he employed a couple of visitors to inquire into cases of necessity with a view to relief; and he laid the results of his inquiry before the Methodist Society. This led to the formation of a Committee for charitable purposes, with John Hosking for treasurer, which was joined by William Cartwright, one of Marsden's fellow chaplains, and enlisted in its support the Christian public of the city. The organization thus commenced took the name of 'The New South Wales Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Benevolence,' and became a permanent and valuable institution. Its promoters waited early upon the Governor, with the request that a building might be provided to house the destitute sick. He granted the petition. With the Governor's patronage liberal help was forthcoming, and the 'Sydney Asylum for the Poor' was opened, which eventually became a flourishing public establishment. Its success provoked the jealousy of some officious people in the city, who sent a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary in England pointing out the importance and usefulness of the asylum and requesting that 'as an assurance of its lasting good and safe conduct, it should be transferred from the Methodists to the clergy and the members of the Anglican Church'! This proposal drew from Lord Bathurst a well-merited rebuke, which Governor Macquarie was careful to convey with emphasis to the offending parties. The decision was that

the management of the Sydney Asylum for the Poor should remain in the hands of those with whom the institution originated; that the accounts must be audited, as heretofore, once a year; and that the Governor was authorized to pay from the Colonial revenue its annual deficiency of income.

Leigh's visitors made a discovery which led to another important step in the religious progress of the colony. A house-to-house canvass revealed the fact that but one Bible existed in Sydney for every ten families. Here lay one cause, surely, of the deplorable ignorance and vice that prevailed. Leigh imparted these facts to a leading magistrate of the city, whom he happened to meet, leaving with him at the same time a copy of the report of the Colombo Bible Society recently to hand. Impressed with what

he had heard and read, this gentleman passed on the report to Lady Macquarie, who interested her husband in the matter ; and he, with his usual promptness, called together the clergy and leading laymen to confer upon the subject. His advisers acknowledged the grievous lack of copies of the Scriptures, but saw no means of remedy. Not satisfied with this conclusion, the Governor arranged for the holding of a public meeting to discuss the situation. Meanwhile several packages arrived addressed to His Excellency from the British and Foreign Bible Society, of whose existence no one in Sydney except the Methodist Missionary seems to have been aware. He had written to the Bible House some time previously acknowledging a grant made to himself on setting out to New South Wales, and suggesting communication with Governor Macquarie, and this was the result. The coincidence was providential. The meeting convened by the Governor, who now had full information to give, was a complete success—' the most numerous and respectable,' it was said, ever held in New South Wales. The Judge Advocate and Chief Chaplain supported the Governor with excellent speeches, and an Auxiliary Branch of the Bible Society was established, with Thomas Bowden for secretary and Samuel Leigh and the Governor's aide-de-camp for collectors, by means of which a knowledge of the Word of God was diffused through the colony. This memorable event took place in March, 1820.

Leigh was a chief mover also in the formation of what was afterwards known as the ' Australian Religious Tract Society.' He got together a quantity of suitable tracts, and employed a number of soldiers and reformed convicts as distributors, with conspicuous effect. The Association, commenced in 1823, soon commended itself and became indispensable ; it spread with the growth of the colony, extending even to New Zealand. The report of 1831—the year in which Leigh left Australia—recorded the gratuitous distribution of upwards of 15,000 tracts and small books, quite apart from the dissemination of Scripture through the Bible Society's agency. In these varied activities the New South Wales Missionary was a thorough imitator of John Wesley, who made social amelioration and the diffusion of cheap religious literature concomitants of the Evangelical Revival.

Leigh became, like Wesley and Coke, a hardened beggar on

behalf of his charitable undertakings, accosting people of all ranks and persuasions, and giving no thought whatever to his own enrichment. He was offered at once on landing a school-master's position, with a comfortable salary attached to it, and might have excused himself for accepting the post by the negotiations which had taken place at home about his appointment, when the President of the Conference had suggested that he should act in the 'double capacity' of schoolmaster-missionary. But he saw that his work as Preacher would require his whole strength, and that he must be 'free from all men' in the colony, that he might be 'the servant of all'; so the tempting offer was promptly declined. When Governor Macquarie, wishing to do him a favour, inquired later why he had made no application for land on his own account when it was almost going a-begging, he answered that he had been sent out on spiritual business, and that he could accept land only *for chapel sites*! To such grants, the Governor replied, he would be always welcome. On presenting a schedule containing a list of his property at a muster of the colonists made every three years, the Governor again chided him. 'Mr. Leigh,' said he, 'have you nothing to return but your old horse? Why, you seem to have neither grain nor cattle yet!'

Such was the first Methodist Missionary in the South Seas, the father of Australian Methodism. Encouraged by Samuel Leigh's reports, and by the rapid growth of the Missionary Society, which had now become firmly established at home, the Committee sent out a second agent to New South Wales, who arrived on May 1, 1818. This was Walter Lawry, a Cornishman of twenty-five years of age, as ardent and enterprising as Leigh himself, and endowed with mental capacities and gifts for preaching of no common order. Lawry was destined to fulfil a long course, and to play a distinguished part in the development of South Sea Missions. A first token of his arrival appeared in the publication at home of the following singular appeal, signed jointly by the two Preachers:

¹ A letter is extant from Leigh to his father and mother (October 14, 1817), in which he remarks: 'You are saving something for me, good parents,' and begs them to hand over the whole sum to the Missionary Society! 'When there is a missionary collection,' he continues, 'never stand counting your money; throw purse and all together into the collection! . . . In your chest your gold and silver will rust and corrupt; in the missionary-box it cannot; lay it up there!' His heart is half broken because he has written to ask for four Missionaries beside himself, 'and the Committee have promised me only one. Sinners are perishing! The harvest is great!' Such men of desperate earnestness, flinging themselves with utter selflessness into the breach, have marked the Church's way to victory on many a field.

A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

(14,000 miles off)

To the members of the Methodist Society in particular, and to benevolent Christians in general, we, the undersigned Missionaries, send greeting.

Forasmuch as your Ministers, books, and other means of instruction are abundant, and we are the only Missionaries in the Southern Hemisphere,¹ having one half the world as our field of action, we humbly solicit from you individually TWOPENCE, to be remitted by your Preachers to the Rev. Joseph Benson, for the purpose of sending two more Missionaries to comfort our hearts, and be instrumental in saving some of the souls who are perishing for lack of knowledge.

New South Wales, 1818.

What response this modest request elicited does not appear. For some time to come this couple of young men occupied the Southern Hemisphere—or all that was visible of it—by themselves. But Australia was not large enough for their ambition. Marsden had already broken ground in New Zealand, which Captain Cook had brought within the knowledge of his fellow countrymen by his first published narrative, having circumnavigated this group of islands in 1770 on the same voyage in which he discovered New South Wales. Marsden had himself set foot on the North Island. He recognized the importance of this country of the Antipodes, and was struck by the vigour and intelligence of its savage inhabitants, of whom he had several in training under his own eye at Parramatta. By the aid of the Church Missionary Society he planted amongst them an industrial lay Mission, which he watched over with paternal solicitude. Being concerned about Leigh's health, who had manifestly overtaxed his powers, Marsden persuaded him, shortly after Lawry's coming, to take a voyage by way of holiday to inspect the New Zealand settlement. Leigh was absent on the excursion for eight months, and rendered considerable service to his hosts in their perilous station. He returned with his heart engaged to the Maoris of New Zealand, but convinced that the plan adopted by Marsden's pioneers, of making agriculture and trade a recommendation for the Gospel,² was unsound. This experience turned Samuel Leigh's

¹ They mean the only *Methodist Missionaries*. Even so, they had overlooked South Africa!

² Samuel Marsden appears to have been infected, on his visit to England in 1809, with the notions then prevalent in certain philanthropic and ecclesiastical circles there, expressed in the maxim: *First civilize, then Christianize*. This, Leigh maintained, was beginning at the wrong end!

thoughts in a new direction. At the same time Lawry was writing home to the Missionary Committee like a 'young man seeing visions':

As to the success of the Gospel in this colony I have no doubt ; and I exult in it for many reasons. This station is one of the most important under your direction. From us I expect to see Missionaries sallying forth to those numerous islands which spot the sea on every side of us : the Friendly Islands, the Fijis, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, New Zealand, New Georgia ; and then to the north again, New Guinea, New Ireland, Celebes, Timor, Borneo, Gilolo, and a great cluster of thickly inhabited missionary outposts. How often have I thought of the good which, to all human probability, would result from one Missionary more for this place, one for Van Diemen's Land, and one for Newcastle. This would be a good supply ; but I doubt of seeing them arrive at present.

The Committee must have smiled at the programme this visionary was mapping out for it ; but much of it the projector was to see accomplished in his own lifetime. The boldest dreamer could not have imagined what Australia and New Zealand were to become, and whereunto the 'grain of mustard-seed' which the hand of Methodism was sowing on these shores would grow within the next forty years. Lawry's prophetic soul marked out Australia—and Sydney in particular—as the destined centre for the evangelization of the islands of the Pacific.

Leigh's health, which was but little benefited by his trip across the 1,000 miles of ocean to New Zealand, caused his friends increasing anxiety. His colleague's vigour and attractive talent, however, gave a new impulse to their common work, and progress continued in the Sydney Circuit at a gratifying rate. Four new chapels were added in a little while to the two that had been first erected, at Castlereagh and in Sydney. The Prince's Street Chapel in the city was full to overflowing from its opening. A site for a second erection was furnished in Macquarie Street by the joint liberality of the Governor and Mr. Thomas Wylde, and Leigh laid the foundation-stone of the new church there on January 1, 1819 ; the building was completed two and a half years later. Somewhat earlier a commodious chapel was raised by the Society at Windsor, upon a site given by the Chief Chaplain of the colony ; and a little later the needs of the Parramatta congregation were provided for in the like way. Here Lawry appears to have personally borne

a large part of the cost of building. He was embarrassed by subscribers who wished to have the proposed sanctuary settled on an unsectarian trust, so that it might be used in common by several Churches ; but the Missionary carried his point, insisting that the property provided by the exertions of the Methodist Church and for the worship of its people should be placed legally and explicitly in its possession, and under the control of its Ministers. In his report made to the Missionary Committee on arriving in England Leigh speaks of a *sixth* chapel, built at Nepean River, and 'undertaken by a friend to our Mission at his own expense' ; this, like the preaching-house at Castlereagh, was a wooden structure. Within the first year or two a Minister's house, with serviceable church offices, had been acquired in Prince's Street, through the aid of Sergeant Scott, who subsequently built the (Prince's Street) Chapel on his plot of land close by. In no other of its fields abroad had Methodism so quickly housed itself ; the Missionary Society was called upon to spend but a few hundred pounds on this extensive plant.¹ The Church membership of the Circuit was but 83 in number when Leigh left Sydney ; evidently the Methodist Missionary had received much sympathy and support outside his own Society, and Governor Macquarie's opinion that he was 'doing good everywhere' was pretty general.

A great and manifold work had been achieved in a very short time by Samuel Leigh and his handful of helpers. Methodism, with its Gospel of redeeming grace and its organization for brotherly fellowship and universal charity, had been well planted, and the foundations laid for its upbuilding. But the cost of his success to the leader of the undertaking was heavy indeed. He had spent himself, and was in four years' time completely exhausted. Early in 1820 the doctors told him that his only hope of recovery lay in a voyage to England.

Mr. Leigh has worn himself out in this Mission [write the Society Stewards to the London Committee]. We all perceived what would be the result of such incessant labour, and only wonder that he has sustained it so long. . . . After much persuasion he has consented to go home. He is exceedingly respected in this country. Should his health be restored, the Committee cannot send any man who will be so acceptable to the people as Mr. Leigh.

¹ It appears, however, that a debt of £1,000 (half the total cost) was contracted in building the Macquarie Street Chapel, which caused much trouble afterwards.

William Cartwright, the Anglican chaplain, thus addressed the sick man on hearing of his approaching departure :

I have for some time observed your declining state of health, but assuredly the Lord is fitting you for eminent service. I rather envy than pity you, knowing that your inward man is renewed day by day. None of us have, like yourself, escaped the tongue of the slanderer. Neither in my capacity of magistrate nor chaplain have I heard anything to your prejudice. . . . Take with you the comfort that you have the approbation of God and man. . . . May we but hope to have you again amongst us. You have a stock of knowledge which none can possess who have not passed through the same ordeal.

Leigh reached England in the early summer of 1820. New Zealand, and the state of the heathen of the South Seas, were the matters now chiefly laid upon his heart. On these he pleaded with the Missionary Committee and the English Methodists during his furlough. He was to return to the South Seas as Missionary to New Zealand ; there will be little more to say about his doings in Australia. For a few months Walter Lawry was left without a colleague. But two recruits were on their way to New South Wales, while Leigh was returning. The first to appear was Benjamin Carvosso, who landed in May ; and Ralph Mansfield arrived in September of the same year. These were men well suited to carry forward Leigh's work and to ' water ' what he had ' planted.' The first of the two, who entered the ministry in 1814 and was Lawry's senior, bore worthily an honoured name. His father was William Carvosso, the Cornish revivalist and saint, whose *Life* (written by his son) was formerly a treasured piece of Wesleyan biography. Carvosso laboured in the colonies ten years, and then returned to England, where he ' travelled ' with great acceptance till his death in 1854. Grave and restrained in manner, Benjamin Carvosso presented a fine example of fidelity and sanctity. A devoted pastor, he cared wisely and patiently for Christ's flock ; if not so extensive as those of some of his fellow workers, his labours produced a deep attachment to Methodism in the circles where he moved. He had some literary faculty, and was the chief beginner of the *Australian Magazine*, the earliest Methodist periodical and the earliest literary journal on the continent, which made a successful début. Carvosso's removal, through loss of health, was a misfortune to the Australian Church, and happened just when such a man could be least

spared. Most of his term in the colonies was spent in Tasmania, where we shall meet him again.

Ralph Mansfield was a probationer of two years' standing when he arrived in Australia. In point of education and of eloquence he was superior to any of his predecessors in the field, and great things were expected of him. Possessed, moreover, of personal charm and an excellent disposition, and earnestly devoted to his work, he became at once a favourite in Australia, and set out with every promise of usefulness. But the trials befalling the New South Wales Mission during the twenties proved too much for this sensitive and high-strung young man, who, with all his winning qualities, was apt to be disputatious and exacting. In 1825 he retired from the ministry, under circumstances that will afterwards appear, to the regret both of Ministers and people. He devoted himself to journalism, a profession then in its infancy in Australia, which offered an inviting career to a man of Mansfield's accomplishments and convictions. He retained his attachment to Methodism, and rendered good service in later years to the public life of the rising city of Sydney. On their arrival Carvosso was stationed at Windsor, while Mansfield remained at Sydney to assist Lawry. A second Circuit was thus created.

In September, 1821, Leigh returned from England with restored health, appearing at Sydney, however, only to make preparations for the New Zealand enterprise. He brought from home a wife, ready to share the dangers of the adventure amongst cannibals. Two missionary recruits for Australia came in the same vessel. One of these was William Horton, a volunteer enlisted through hearing Leigh's appeal for help in England. Him Leigh had left behind, by request, at Hobart Town—a post now ripe for occupation. Preaching here previously on their way to Sydney, Mansfield and Carvosso had found 'an effectual door' open for the Gospel. From this time Van Diemen's Land became a regular, and, on the whole, remarkably fruitful, Circuit of the Mission. Leigh's other companion, William Walker—also a young man of marked ability and high character, who had been first designated for the newly commenced Mission on the River Gambia—was sent by the Missionary Committee with a view to devote himself to the 'Black Natives' of Australia, for whose salvation Richard Watson, in particular, had shown great concern. Both the

new-comers came to be involved in the troubles which speedily came upon the New South Wales Mission ; we shall have more to say about them in the sequel.

Simultaneously with Leigh's appointment to New Zealand, Lawry was detached to begin work in the Friendly Islands, to which he sailed in June, 1822 ; for some time he had been urging an attempt in this direction. George Erskine, one of Dr. Coke's chosen band of 1813, who had proved wanting in linguistic capacity, was transferred from Ceylon to fill the vacancy thus created. These arrangements appear in the Stations for 1820 ; they took effect in the following year (1821-22), when Mansfield, in addition to Carvosso, arrived, and Erskine came on the scene. The last-named, an Irishman by origin, was of twelve years' standing in the ministry, and considerably senior to the members of the staff that he now joined ; it was hoped he would prove an efficient director of the New South Wales Mission. For the present Samuel Leigh was gazetted as ' General Superintendent ' in the Polynesian area ; but it was impossible for him to control the Australian Circuits from his distant outpost. The next year (1822) saw Erskine promoted to be General Superintendent for New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Leigh's jurisdiction being confined to New Zealand and the Friendly Islands. In these redistributions, and in the divergence between Leigh and his brethren and the change of policy in Australia consequent on his departure, lay the beginning of trouble. The Missionaries left behind in Australia on the removal of Leigh and Lawry were complete novices.

In the year 1820 a local branch of the Missionary Society was formed. The first missionary meeting held in the Southern Hemisphere took place in the newly opened Macquarie Street Chapel on October 1, 1821, in anticipation of Leigh's sailing for New Zealand. This was a gathering of extraordinary interest, and gave a signal demonstration of the esteem in which the departing Missionary, who occupied the chair, was held. Magistrates and public men from all parts of the colony were there to testify their approval, and to bid Samuel Leigh God-speed. The report read at the meeting announced the sum of £236 contributed to the Auxiliary Missionary Fund during the first year of its existence. The most affecting incident of the occasion was the contribution and speech of

John Lees of Castlereagh, who had 'come down in his jolting cart thirty-five miles.' To the astonishment of those who knew his narrow circumstances and large family, he stood up and said, as the list of subscriptions was being completed: 'Mr. Secretary, put me down for six guineas!' The proceedings were arrested by this outburst, and the Secretary hesitated to enter so large a sum, when the donor, seeing the cause of the embarrassment, rose again, and with flowing tears and in broken accents spoke of his obligations, on his own account and on that of his family, to his God and Saviour. This meeting put the crown on Leigh's early work in New South Wales.

The returns of 1821 show five Missionaries at work in Australia—three in the Circuit of 'Sydney, Parramatta, and Windsor' (the two last-named being reincluded in the Sydney Mission), and one in Van Diemen's Land. The Church membership of the older Circuit was returned as 113, of the newer as 28. These figures appeared but slender in proportion to the staff employed, the extent of ground occupied, and the Mission plant secured. But in a population of the peculiar nature found in this colony settled Church membership was of slow growth; and the pioneer Preachers did well to scatter the seed of the Gospel as widely as they might. The success achieved, and the vantage-ground won in the colony, was much more considerable than the numerical report represents. A marvellous work had been accomplished in five years, chiefly through the martyr-like toil of Samuel Leigh.

II

RELAPSE AND RECOVERY IN NEW SOUTH WALES

A Ground of Contention—Walter Lawry—Financial Difficulties—Candidates for the Ministry—Erskine's Chairmanship—Arrival of Joseph Orton—New Mission Stations—Daniel James Draper—State Aid for Missionaries—Increase of Immigration—Appointment of W. B. Boyce.

WITH Samuel Leigh's departure for England trouble began for infant Methodism in New South Wales. Walter Lawry and he—both ardent and impulsive men—suffered from a certain incompatibility, and the differences between them widened into a cleft in the Mission itself. Though he won golden opinions from Australian officials and the general public, Leigh's relations to his missionary colleagues were never quite happy; and the lack of cordiality is fatal to Methodism. He seems to have been a man who worked best alone. When he had fought single-handed the first battles of Methodism in the colony, when he had cleared the ground and laid the foundations of his Church's work in this rough field, it was hard for him to see others building thereupon in a style at variance with his own. He did not readily consult with juniors nor bow to the majority; and there appears to have been a natural aloofness and sharpness of temper in him, aggravated by failing health, which made him 'difficult to get on with.'

The ground of contention in early Australian Methodism lay in the relations of the latter to the Church of England. Samuel Leigh was, by breeding and conviction, what was called a 'Church Methodist,' loving Anglican ways and inclined, wherever it was possible, to co-operate with the clergy and to avoid offending them. He had come to New South Wales in response to a summons which deprecated encroachment on the privileges of the Established Church. Instructions to this effect were given to Leigh when he received his commission; he strictly adhered to them by never preaching during 'Church

hours' in Sydney or where Anglican services were held, and by refraining from the administration of the Sacraments in places where the clergy officiated. In acting thus he was following the older Wesleyan usage. The personal kindness of Marsden, the senior Colonial Chaplain, who had treated Leigh like a father and in many ways furthered his work, and the brotherliness and evangelical spirit of more than one of the younger clergy, gave them strong claims on his respect and gratitude.

Lawry, on the other hand, was a Cornish Methodist of the uncompromising type. In his county the old Church was of comparatively ill repute, and Methodism had grown up, for the most part, in separation from her. Lawry's prepossessions were much against deference to Anglicanism; and he found many of his way of thinking amongst the Societies of Sydney and the other towns. To him Leigh's policy seemed a 'truckling to the clergy'; the influence the latter had gained in the colony by this means his young colleague regarded as dearly won by the sacrifice of independence, and as prejudicial to the future of Methodism. By this date the rule maintained by John Wesley during his lifetime—that Methodists should hold no services in Church hours, and should, wherever they were permitted, 'communicate' at the parish church—was generally obsolete. 'The Plan of Pacification,' adopted by the Conference of 1797, provided for the Preachers administering the Sacraments in their own chapels at their people's desire; and the Methodist Society had assumed at home the character of a self-complete Church of Christ, asserting *de jure* the status it had long possessed *de facto*. Lawry and his friends felt themselves bound in duty to their Church to vindicate this position in the colony, and not to allow Methodism to be treated as handmaid to the Church of England. It seemed to them unjust to their people and to themselves to forgo the proper hours of worship on the Lord's day, and the enjoyment within their own brotherhood of the essential Christian rites, for the advantage of a Communion to which the majority of them felt no attachment or obligation. On the other side, Leigh, whose views were shared by a number of the older and more influential laymen, held to the understanding upon which the Mission had been started. He felt that it would be a breach of faith on his part, and an act of ingratitude toward Marsden and the

Governor of the colony, who had shown the Methodists a hearty and liberal friendship, to assume toward the Church of England an attitude of rivalry.

The question of the holding of Methodist services in Church hours had been early raised in Sydney, and the difference of opinion amongst the Missionaries on this and the connected matters soon became apparent. But the restriction was not broken down until Leigh left the colony for England in 1820. The younger men who arrived on the field at that time—Carvosso and Mansfield—took Lawry's side in the dispute. They chafed against the disparagement put by the conservative policy upon their ministry; they saw no reason why Methodism in the colony should wear a yoke of bondage intolerable in England; they regarded the question as settled in principle by the 'Plan of Pacification.' The three young Ministers drew up a resolution stating their intention to hold morning service in Sydney at the most convenient hour, and to dispense the Sacraments in accordance with the desire expressed by the officers of the Societies. Time was on the side of the party of liberty; with patience they would inevitably have had their way. Their mistake was—it was the first of several of the like kind—to take the law into their own hands, making this important change of policy on their own judgment, instead of consulting the authorities in England, under whose direction they had placed themselves. Francis Asbury's caution and restraint, under circumstances of a parallel but still more trying nature, afford an instructive contrast to the action of the headstrong Australian pioneers.¹

Resentment was at once excited. Leigh's friends in Sydney wrote to him indignantly, and a formal complaint was lodged at the Mission House by the Rev. William Cowper, M.A. (afterwards Dean Cowper), one of the Anglican chaplains, which the Committee took very seriously.² Leigh testified outspokenly against his brethren, regarding the step they had taken as rash and compromising to the honour of Methodism. A sharp

¹ Cf. above, Vol I., p. 238.

² The holding of rival Sunday Schools was also matter of complaint in Cowper's letter to the Missionary Committee. The accused Missionaries defended themselves by showing that with the growth of Sydney there was ample room and need for both Churches, and that simultaneous worship did not rob the Anglican Church, but multiplied the number of worshippers. They complain at the same time of acts of rivalry and proselytism on the other side. Carvosso reflected severely on Cowper for accusing the Methodists by letter to England, while professing warm friendship towards them in Sydney.

reprimand was at once sent out from Hatton Garden, the Secretaries not waiting to hear the other side. When their turn came to reply the Missionaries, far from confessing a fault, took the position of men wronged by being condemned unheard ; and on the receipt of Lawry's explanations and defence, accompanied by a petition from the Methodist lay officers in Sydney representing the wishes of the people for Church freedom, it was seen that some injustice had been done, and the Committee, while not withdrawing the previous censure, was compelled to modify its terms. For both parties this was an awkward situation ; it proved the beginning of a controversy between the New South Wales Missionaries and the Mission House which continued to the end of the twenties.

When Leigh returned to the colony in 1821, spending some months there on his way to New Zealand, the contention about Methodist nonconformity was running high in Sydney. He found himself alone amongst his brethren, and publicly dissociated himself from their policy by refusing to take appointments that involved the holding of worship in chapel during ' Church ' hours or Sacramental administration within ' Church ' parishes. The other Preachers regarded this refusal as disloyal, and took some collective action respecting it which, in sending his report to the Committee at home, he described as ' putting ' him ' on his trial.' Blame was now dealt out to both parties. Lawry and his allies were directed to ' cultivate a spirit of deference toward the clergy.' Leigh was disapproved for neglecting to consult his brethren and acting in disregard of their views and wishes.

Leigh removed to New Zealand, and Lawry to the Friendly Islands in 1822. But until Erskine's appointment the former was still officially connected as General Superintendent with the Australian Circuits, and continued his protest against the ' Dissenting ' policy. Each incoming Missionary ranged himself with those on the ground ; and the little knot of Church Methodists amongst the laymen were left more and more in the minority as fresh immigrants arrived, and as new converts acceded who regarded Methodism as their spiritual mother. Leigh and his partisans remained unyielding, regarding their honour as concerned in the observance of the tacit compact at first established with the Anglicans, and ascribing the success of the Mission in its earliest days to the goodwill secured by

conciliation toward the mother Church. Leigh possessed a great and well-deserved influence in the colony ; so long as he persisted in the contest it was bound to continue.

The disputatiousness and party spirit engendered by this strife arrested the advance of Methodism and lowered its reputation in the colony. While the able preaching of the new men attracted hearers, conversions became few and the Societies ceased to grow. Fault was found with the younger Missionaries, apparently with some reason, for tying themselves to the town congregations and neglecting to itinerate amongst the outlying settlements.¹ The area of Methodist work no longer extended as it had done during the first five years of the Mission.

When, from any cause, strife becomes chronic in a Church, and the indwelling Spirit is once grieved, aggravating circumstances are sure to occur ; the sore is inflamed by every chance irritation. The *expenses* of the Mission alarmed the home authorities ; and in the letter of reproof addressed early in 1822 to Lawry, Carvosso, and Mansfield for their behaviour toward the Church of England, they are taken to task also upon this score ; certain items of personal expenditure are pointed out which were open to strong objection. Had the young Missionaries been ever so prudent and managing, trouble could not fail to arise in money matters. The local contribution to the support of its agents which the Missionary Committee had been led to expect was forthcoming in scant measure ; the New South Wales Societies were numerically small and poor in worldly means. Much missionary labour was spent on prison work, which brought no remuneration, and on the ex-convict stratum of the population, who were slow to acquire habits of industry and thrift, and contributed little to the support of their Ministers. The price of articles of common necessity ruled excessively high, for colonial production was undeveloped, and importation to the Antipodes was costly. In the case of the Australian, as in that of the Ceylonese Mission, the maintenance charges of the Missionaries had been greatly underestimated, and the figures reported from the field upset the calculations of home financiers. The trouble was partly due to the newness of the business. The administration both at home and in the foreign field was in the experimental stage. Sound methods of financial control had to be created. Mistakes

¹ Asbury had blamed Boardman and Pilmoor in America on the same ground.

were made in money matters by the agents abroad, many of whom had little or no previous business training ; and made, sometimes, doubtless by Secretaries and men of Committee at home, dealing as they were with foreign conditions, judged at a distance and from imperfect data.

The discussion between Australia and Hatton Garden on this topic was acute from the beginning ; it was some years before a proper understanding was reached.¹ The Missionaries met the surprise and displeasure of the home Committee with indignation at the reproaches they suffered. A price list for provisions was sent by Carvosso to the Mission House, which is an interesting economic document. The Missionaries must, on the whole, be acquitted of the charge of extravagance roundly made against them in the correspondence. At the same time their letters on the subject make an impression not altogether pleasant ; they exhibit a tone in regard to temporalities which compares unfavourably with that of their Canadian contemporaries in missionary service, who threw themselves on the scanty support afforded by the colonists with a fine indifference to personal comfort and social dignity. The intercourse of the first comers in this Mission with the clergy and official classes, and the fact that poverty in Australia was commonly associated with degraded habits, made a difference here. A certain respectability and decent style were regarded as essential to the ministerial calling in Australia, such as the rough-and-ready American pioneer gladly dispensed with, or even despised.

The Missionaries, after stating their case and giving statistics to prove the heavy cost of living in the colony, submitted their plea to the judgement of the Committee, promising to accept whatever rate of allowances it should upon full information assign to them ; but when the decision was given, and they found but a slight addition made to the sum previously made, they demurred and renewed the appeal. The climax of this painful discussion was reached when at the first District Synod of New South Wales, held in January, 1826, the Missionaries took the high-handed measure of voting to themselves

¹ It must be remembered that letters took sometimes six months on the way between England and the South Seas ; the long delay made home control and mutual understanding most difficult to preserve. In many cases, even of an important nature, it was impossible to wait twelve months for a reply from England. Emergencies arose, perhaps, involving heavy expense, on which an earlier decision was imperative.

allowances increased by 14 per cent.¹ About the same time they chartered a vessel, at the cost of £250, to convey a new Missionary of their own selection to Tonga with outfit and supplies for a year, and sent the bill to Hatton Garden ! Meanwhile it came to light that £1,000 had been borrowed on the credit of the Missionary Society to build the Macquarie Street Chapel in Sydney. In one way and another the drafts of the home exchequer from Sydney for six months' expenditure, on the part of four Missionaries, amounted to £2,606 ! These reckless spendings had to be stopped forthwith ; they portended nothing short of ruin to the Missionary Society. The Treasurers were instructed to dishonour the Australian bills.

Still a third cause of dispute arose out of the doings of the first Synod. The London Committee had urged the Missionaries here, as in the American Districts, to seek out suitable assistants and to labour for the raising up, as soon as might be, of a colonial ministry, so that the Missionary Society might have its hands free for its work amongst the heathen. The Australian Preachers appeared to regard this direction as empowering them on emergency to commission their own candidates. There were several eligible young men in view at this time in the District. Two of these were brought forward in the regular way, their names and qualifications, and the proposals respecting them, being submitted to the Committee and Conference at home. One of the two was usefully employed for nine years in Tonga and in the colonies, but proved afterwards unfaithful. The second was sent to resume the Mission to ' the Black Natives,' from which William Walker had been dismissed ; his name, however, figures on the stations for only a single year. The case of the third occasioned considerable friction. In the first place he was a married man with three children, and his acceptance by the Synod was therefore irregular, although he was reported to have the means to maintain his family ; but, worse than this, he was a doubter regarding the Eternal Sonship of Christ, and the Conference, perturbed by the controversy which arose from the defective teaching of Dr. Adam Clarke, had expressly precluded the admission of any candidate for the ministry unsound upon

¹ The Synod considered itself to be acting constitutionally, since it was endorsing the proposals of the Quarterly Meetings to this effect, and the Quarterly Meetings in the Home Connexion determine the amount of their Ministers' stipend. It ignored the vital difference that the New South Wales Circuits supplied only a fraction of the Missionaries' allowances.

this question. The action of the New South Wales Synod, taken in disregard of the above ruling, was strongly reprobated. The fourth candidature has already been alluded to. A young naval officer named Weiss, of high character and ability, offered himself for work in the Friendly Islands, for which his training made him particularly eligible.¹ But three mistakes were made in his acceptance. He was allowed, in contravention of the rules for probationers, to marry at once (this was probably desired in view of his destination) ; further, he was appointed to the Friendly Islands Station, over which the Australian Synod had no jurisdiction ; and in his dispatch and equipment a heavy expense was laid upon the Missionary Committee, without reference made to that body or permission given. The act was one subversive of all discipline, and entailed drastic consequences. Weiss had the mortification on arriving at Tonga of being requested to return home—his senders had been in too great haste to make sure of his reception.² On hearing of the liberty which the New South Wales Synod had taken, the Missionary Committee disowned the appointment and held the men who had made it personally answerable for the debt incurred. The doings of the first Australian Synod are unique in our missionary history, and in the record of Methodist District administration.

Yet another provocation, of a more pardonable nature, was given to the Mission House from this quarter by the unauthorized commencement of the *Australian Magazine*. Carvosso was the chief mover in this experiment. Lawry, Mansfield, and he had written home in 1821 asking permission for their literary venture. They were strongly discouraged, in terms intended by the Secretaries to be taken as a veto, being told that they had plenty to do without dabbling in journalism, and must mind their proper work as Preachers of the Gospel. The *Magazine* appeared nevertheless, and was well received. The first Christian publication of the kind in the colony, it

¹ This excellent man, after his return from Tonga, entered into business in Sydney, and served his Church very usefully and faithfully in lay offices until his death in 1872.

² The Tongan Mission, commenced three years earlier by Lawry, who had been compelled to leave, was in great straits and had appealed to Sydney for help. When Weiss arrived, the hopes of the Missionaries were at a low ebb—indeed, the Mission was actually suspended for several months. It was through this despondency, and not because they considered the action of their Australian brethren to be *ultra vires*, that they declined the helper sent them. The N.S.W. Synod regarded the emergency as one that brooked no delay ; hence their precipitate action.

supplied a felt want, and would probably have gained a lasting success. Learning that the young Missionaries had launched their little craft, the Committee arrested its course by a peremptory order, attended with sharp reproof. It may be questioned whether the suppression was well judged. The same jealousy showed itself later toward the budding Methodist journalism of British North America. Few things were more important than that the literary life of the colonies should receive a religious impress from the outset. And in Carvosso and Mansfield Australian Methodism appeared to have men with the ability and the aspiration to give the right stamp to this new birth. The repression was bitterly felt.

The two pioneers in New South Wales had no official responsibility for the troubles last described. Leigh's superintendency of the work in Australia ceased with the appointment of George Erskine. He returned from New Zealand in 1825 broken in health, and 'sat down' for twelve months. On resuming work, he 'travelled' the Paramatta and Sydney Circuits; but his old vigour was gone, the Samuel Leigh of ten years earlier could hardly be recognized. Crushed by the loss of his wife, who died in 1831, he returned to England, and after two years' rest found a place in the home ministry, which he filled usefully until his final retirement in 1845. Despite great infirmity, he continued to plead the missionary cause with fervour and effect up and down the country, and expired on this service in the year 1851, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Erskine's chairmanship of 'New South Wales' (including Van Diemen's Land), which was raised to District status at this time, dates officially from 1823, though the first regular Synod was not held until two years later. Reference has already been made to his previous career. His experience and length of service led the Missionary Committee to expect competence for the duties to which he was now called. He was a conscientious and amiable man, of some mark as a Preacher, and not without business qualifications; but he proved lacking in judgement and weak in authority; and the crisis which had overtaken the New South Wales Mission was too much for him. Instead of controlling the high-spirited young men over whom he was placed, Erskine let himself be ruled by them, and was justly held responsible for the resultant

mistakes and for the unhappy condition to which the District was reduced. The strain in which he had written concerning his earlier sphere of labour might have warned the Committee against entrusting any formidable task to a man who had been so thoroughly daunted :

Had I known this Mission at first as I do now, nothing beneath the heavens would have been an adequate inducement to bring me to Ceylon. I anticipate deliverance from painful trials by a deliverance from this Mission, either by death or whatever seems best to Infinite Wisdom.

It was hoped, no doubt, that change of climate would restore the disheartened brother's courage ; but he came to Australia suffering from an asthmatic affection which never left him. His strength was unequal to the fatigues of colonial work, while his spirit was unfitted to cope with its adverse conditions. Talent and zeal and powers of initiative were not wanting in the staff under Erskine's direction, but the directing mind and moderating hand, the fatherly dignity and discipline, were not to be seen in their Chairman.

The disputes and irregularities we have touched upon, operating with cumulative force from the year 1820 onwards, were calamitous in their effect. The returns for 1820 showed 83 Church members in the Sydney Circuit ; ten years later but 103 were found in the three Circuits of New South Wales (with 46 besides in Van Diemen's Land), on ground where four Ministers had continuously laboured, three at least of them being Preachers of popular gifts. The bickering between Leigh and the other Missionaries, followed by the slack administration of Erskine, brought the Methodist cause into disrespect with the colonial public. Australia had become the despair of the Missionary Committee—' the only Mission,' said Richard Watson, ' which has been a disgrace to us.' From 1825 onwards the censures of Hatton Garden became increasingly stern, losing nothing of their pungency by coming through Watson's polished pen. By the end of the twenties the ministerial staff was completely broken up. William Walker, ' a Preacher of extraordinary power, with abilities far above the average,' was the first on whom judgement fell. A protégé of Watson's, and first sent out to the Gambia, he had been chosen to mission the Australian Aborigines. He had entered on this most difficult task with zest, and his plans were

excellent. But the Australian wife he married brought him property in land and farming-stock, which (it was said) diverted him from missionary duty. His brethren in the colony remonstrated, and suspended him from office on his refusing correction. The Conference finally dismissed him in 1825 for having 'improperly entangled himself with the affairs of this life.'¹ With his departure 'the Mission to the Black Natives' in New South Wales fell through. Joseph Orton, who met him some years later, speaks of him as 'most certainly a clever man, injudiciously handled by those placed over him.' John Watsford, who knew him in youth, retained the highest regard for William Walker.

William Horton was Secretary to the Synod, and bore much of the onus of the obnoxious proceedings of that body. The Missionary Committee rejected the claims of the staff to increased allowances; more than this, it saddled the men concerned with the cost of Weiss's unauthorized excursion to Tonga, and with the debt incurred in building the Macquarie Street Chapel.² To the action of the Synod in Weiss's case the word 'criminal' was applied. The exchange of letters that followed, spread over some two years of discussion, exaggerated the contention, until Horton, stung by the rebukes he suffered, resolved to go to England and meet the Committee face to face. Erskine and Carvosso warned him against doing this without permission given and provision made for the work he was leaving; but he would not be stayed. He justified himself by a sentence from the London Secretaries to the effect that if the Missionaries could not live on the regular allowances, 'they may all come home together.' He told the Committee, when he arrived, that he had taken them at their word! The situation was inflamed still more by a circular which Horton saw fit to publish in Sydney, explaining his departure, in which he reviewed the history of the case and animadverted in disrespectful terms on the British Missionary authorities. This

¹ Walter Lawry had contracted a similar marriage (his wife and Walker's were sisters), and his conduct was challenged, on the same account. Being in England when the charge was made, he defended himself before the Missionary Committee. He escaped, people said, through the good fortune of being able to make his apology in person, while Walker was condemned in absence. But there appears to have been a difference between the behaviour of the two men. All the same, the Missionary Committee was apt to be biased in favour of the advocate who stood before them, where letters from a distance left them cold. This had been shown, to Lawry's disadvantage, in the dispute between him and Leigh.

² Ultimately this obligation, contracted in the shape of a loan from Edward Eagar, was discharged by the Missionary Committee.

crowning indiscretion was fatal to Horton's plea. The Committee listened patiently to his defence of the action of the Synod, but they pronounced his self-exculpation to be unsatisfactory, and handed him over to the disciplinary courts of the Church. He was found guilty of gross and repeated indiscipline and sentenced to expulsion by the Conference of 1829. The sentence took effect in a thorough humbling and confession of fault, upon which he was restored to his place in the ministry. Remaining henceforth in the home work, William Horton pursued an exemplary course, and died in 1867 honoured and lamented. Under other advice and influences his career in the Mission Field might have been long and happy.

Meanwhile, Ralph Mansfield had also withdrawn. The Missionary Committee summoned him home in 1828. Instead of complying, he resigned his commission, stating that he was compelled to this step by the impossibility of maintaining himself and his family 'on a footing equally respectable with our Preachers at home and essential to the ministerial character of this country,' and by the Missionary Committee's repudiation of the expenses incurred on its service,¹ imposing upon him debts that he neither could nor would discharge. He reproached the Committee with 'having broken one of the main conditions upon which I entered into their service, viz. to pay an affectionate regard to my wants and to afford them every reasonable and necessary supply.' He expressed himself without bitterness, and declared his purpose to abide by Methodism and to serve the cause of his Church to the best of his power as a Local Preacher and otherwise. Subsequent communications passed between Mansfield and the Mission House, in which he stated his readiness to return to the ministry, provided that he could be 'honourably received,' that the debts with which he had been unfairly taxed were remitted, and that he should be allowed to labour in England; but the Committee was unrelenting. He remained, notwithstanding, a loyal Methodist layman to the end of his life.

Erskine was retained at the head of affairs until 1831, when he was recalled, on account of 'the languishing state of the New South Wales Mission,' and his insufficiency 'for Mission work in general and for the duties of Chairman of the District in particular.' The sequel in his case has been already related.

¹ In the case of Mr. Weiss and in other particulars.

Leigh returned to England about the same time, as Carvosso had done earlier, both through loss of health. On the Stations of 1830 Erskine and Leigh appear as the sole Methodist Missionaries in New South Wales—a couple of infirm and spent men. Carvosso laboured from 1826 to 1830, with fair success, in Van Diemen's Land, and he seems to have had little share in the misdemeanours of the New South Wales brethren. He undoubtedly held with them on the main question of 'allowances,' which came up again within a few years, when it was settled largely in the Missionaries' favour. Had this matter been raised in a different spirit and the case presented with moderation, an increase of stipend would, in all likelihood, have been granted at the prior application. Thus it came about that, by the year 1831, through disablement or discipline, the entire staff of the Australian Mission, as it existed ten years before, had disappeared; a new beginning had to be made. Nathaniel Turner, who took charge of the Paramatta Circuit on his way to New Zealand and stayed for some years (in New South Wales or Tasmania) to fill the breach, writes that he found 'much, very much, to discourage and some things at which his heart sickened. Our Church in New South Wales was now a wreck, and the few faithful mourned for the desolation of Zion.' Methodist affairs in Australia had reached their lowest ebb.

The turn of the tide came with the arrival of Joseph Orton, who was appointed the Superintendent of the Mission by the Conference of 1831. This young Minister, whose course dated only from 1825, had spent his missionary probation in Jamaica, where he had suffered severely in the persecutions of that period. Though this experience left a lasting mark upon his constitution, Orton's activity and energy of spirit were unimpaired. He undertook the new task with full knowledge of the situation and the lamentable condition into which the New South Wales District had fallen. But he was a man of sterling loyalty and resolution, of excellent judgement and of very tender and gracious disposition; the Missionary Committee knew his worth, and gave him their hearty confidence. William Schofield—a steady, reliable worker, and a winner of souls—who had been sent out to the field in 1827, was there to support the new Chairman, who had, within his first year of office, to take measures against the one other colleague left to him from

the former staff—a Preacher enlisted in the colony, who, in the Friendly Islands Mission for several years, ‘ran well,’ but on returning to Australia faltered in his course. William Simpson and John Allen Manton, both in the early years of their English probation, accompanied Orton to the Australian field; these, along with Schofield and Nathaniel Turner, completed the list of his helpers. The five were sound preachers and good pastors; they were one in heart and judgement; and their chief was a man of leadership and spiritual power. William Simpson gave fourteen years of fruitful toil to Australia, ten of these spent in Van Diemen’s Land. Manton was wedded for life to the colonies, and played a most worthy part in the great doings of the times that followed; we shall meet him more than once in later pages.

Despite all that had happened to divide and depress the Australian Societies a sound nucleus remained. The tradition of the early days of Leigh and Lawry was not forgotten; and in Van Diemen’s Land Carvosso’s ministry had raised up a Church which, if not large, was well rooted and growing.

Joseph Orton’s first task was to use the pruning-knife. Small in numbers as the ministry and the Church membership of the District were, they had to be cut down to yet smaller proportions.

The sore question of the Preachers’ allowances compelled renewed attention. It was fully and temperately discussed, and a memorandum was forwarded to London from the Synod representing the case for a moderate addition to the amounts previously fixed, which had been found inadequate for the colonies. The statement concludes with the clause:

The brethren . . . will not presume to make any additional charge until they receive the sanction of the Committee.

The respectful tone of this representation had its effect at headquarters; an entry in the District *Minutes* for 1834 records thanks for an increase in the maintenance grants, and for the consideration shown in the matter by the Missionary Committee, although it had not conceded everything the Synod solicited and a further request on the subject had to be made in the year following. The essential thing was that matters were placed on a proper footing between the Mission House at home and the Mission staff on the field; dutifulness on the

one part was met by confidence and cordiality upon the other.

The affairs of the Mission now fell into a better train. Pastoral oversight was renewed, and the Methodist discipline, which had been largely in abeyance, was restored throughout the Circuits. Itinerancy was pursued with new vigour; fresh preaching-places were sought out, and openings for the extension of the work multiplied as the Preachers sought them, and the confidence and affection of the people toward them increased. A promising local candidate for the ministry presenting himself, he was cautiously employed as a salaried Local Preacher first, pending the submission of his case to the Church at home. The state of the Mission property was investigated; much of it was found to be secured in the names of the group of men who had now quitted the field. The rectification of this defect of title was gradually accomplished. Not until 1836 was the 'Model Deed,' as used in England, registered in the Supreme Court of New South Wales, placing the church buildings in the colony on a thoroughly satisfactory legal footing.

Until about the middle of the thirties immigration into Australia, though continuous, had been comparatively slight. The extreme distance from England was a deterrent; the penal character of the settlement, and the unhappy associations attaching to 'Botany Bay,' were still more forbidding. It was known that old convicts formed a preponderant part of the population, and stories of Australian crime and ruffianism were rife at home. On the other hand, the genial and salubrious climate, and the easy terms on which land was obtainable, proved inducements of increasing force. The downs west of Sydney, beyond the Blue Mountains, were found to be excellently adapted for sheep-farming upon a large scale; Australia was evidently destined to become a wool-producing country, and capital was attracted in this direction with a view to the providing of this great staple of British manufactures. The tide of British colonization, now swelling to full volume, began to be diverted to an appreciable degree from the North American to the Australian shores. This fact supplied Orton with a plea, which he urged soon after his arrival in a letter marked by his usual good sense and persuasiveness, for reinforcements. 'Cares,' he says, 'are bound to increase as the colony rises in importance, and our Island Missions extend.' The last reference

bears not only on Van Diemen's Land, which, distant as it was, still formed a part of the New South Wales District, but also on New Zealand and the Friendly Islands. For although the outlying Missions had their own separate jurisdiction, they were in constant intercourse with Sydney, the commercial base and rendezvous for all British operations in the South Seas. The Missionaries for these other fields, in going or returning, broke their voyage at Sydney, and their communications regularly passed through this port, so that the Superintendent Minister there had in many ways to look after their affairs.

Orton's wider responsibilities did not prevent his enlarging the boundaries of the New South Wales Circuits and breaking fresh ground in the ever-growing colony. At Botany Bay, south of Sydney ; at Bathurst, which Leigh had visited in 1816, and where Methodist worship had been kept up, without help from any Minister ever since ; and at Springfield, about thirty miles beyond Bathurst westwards, where a Missionary was stationed in 1835, he set on foot regular preaching, and founded new Societies within a short time of his arrival. ' It is my practice,' he writes, with reference to his itinerations into the neglected or newly settled parts of the country, ' to officiate at the end of every daily stage, whether at an inn or a private establishment ; and on all such occasions every facility is afforded for assembling the people, who willingly come and thankfully receive the message of mercy.'

Orton was one of those Preachers whose appearance and bearing commend the good tidings they bring. He refers pathetically to ' the road-parties and iron-gangs ' he met, consisting of prisoners condemned to penal labour for crimes committed in the colony. ' They are interspersed,' he says, ' over the country in parties of from fifty to one hundred in number,' and ' are generally a most depraved set of men ' and ' most piteously neglected ' in point of religious instruction. ' They gave profound attention,' he reports, ' wherever I have had the opportunity to address them, and ' in many instances were suffused with tears as they listened to the offers of Divine mercy ; plainly these chief of sinners were not irrevocably lost to feeling.' So speaks a true seeker of Christ's wandering sheep, eager to follow and find those that were lost.

In 1835, a second Minister having been granted to Sydney, the Superintendent was able to visit the rising settlement of

Maitland on Hunter's River,¹ situated above sixty miles north of the capital. This place became in a short time the centre of vigorous Methodist work. The impression which Orton made at Maitland was followed up by a zealous and able Irish Local Preacher named Jeremiah Ledsham, who made his home here in 1837. Finding the township without regular public worship, with the help of a Methodist cabinet-maker whom he discovered, he fitted up a disused billiard-room, which became the first house of prayer in that district. Ledsham preached on Sundays and conducted public prayer-meetings twice in the week. A Society-class was formed, by commission from the Sydney Ministers. The congregation grew rapidly. Soon a chapel was required, and £300 was contributed for the purpose on the spot. This sum was doubled by assistance from Sydney and elsewhere, and Methodism was housed in modest but fairly adequate fashion. Maitland remained a far outlying part of the Sydney Circuit till a Preacher could be spared for it. Jonathan Innes, newly sent out from England, was appointed here in 1840. Earlier, in 1835, Bathurst became a Circuit town—the first addition to the list of New South Wales Circuits for fifteen years. By this date the Methodist membership in the colony was returned as 212, of whom 130 belonged to Sydney—a small enough muster, but double the number Joseph Orton counted at his arrival.

With the resuscitation of Methodism in the District the philanthropic agencies of Leigh's original programme, which had languished but never ceased, began to prosper once more. In addition, a 'Strangers' Friend Association' was formed to assist immigrants, who landed too often penniless after their long voyage, and at a loss to find shelter and employment in a strange country. Also a Wesleyan Tract Society and a Wesleyan Sunday School Union were launched, which became serviceable auxiliaries to the Church's work. She had to meet the needs of a city of whose population a large and increasing proportion was of a floating or nomad character; and hither many wrecks of life drifted from British shores.

In 1835 Orton was still in charge of the Sydney Circuit,²

¹ Leigh had visited Newcastle, then a penal settlement where the convicts laboured in the coal-mines near the river-mouth. He had in vain begged for a Missionary on behalf of this derelict community.

² He appears in the Stations for 1835 as designated to Hobart Town; the transference did not take effect till the next year.

while Nathaniel Turner superintended the work in Van Diemen's Land. At this date the latter island was made into a separate District, Orton being detached for its Chairman. This was a more manageable field ; the toilsome New South Wales itinerancy, and the multiplied cares of the wider District, had told heavily upon a constitution previously damaged. The history of the new District will be taken up in the following chapter.

John M'Kenny, who was the first Methodist Missionary sent to South Africa, and for many years subsequently had laboured fruitfully in Ceylon, was put in charge of Sydney and the New South Wales District, now confined to the colony of that name. Without his predecessor's peculiar intensity and tenderness of spirit, M'Kenny was an able and sensible and thoroughly conscientious man, courteous, dignified, and business-like in his official work, considerate for his colleagues, kindly and faithful toward his people. He kept the peace, and helped every man to do his best. He died in the colony in 1847, two years after laying down the office, which he had filled for ten years with so much credit. In leaving Sydney Orton spoke of 'the racking anxiety' he had there 'endured on behalf of the Church,' and tells how he had 'commenced his labours with fear and trembling'; but, he adds, 'I had the gratification of seeing the Society trebled' in four years, 'and with great reluctance left a most loving people.' A ministry like his *makes* a loving people.

Two recruits from home joined the New South Wales forces at the time of M'Kenny's appointment, both men of high quality ; their accession raised the District staff from three to five, making it possible to occupy Bathurst, across the Blue Mountains. Daniel James Draper, whose first appointment was Parramatta, ranks amongst the master-builders of Australian Methodism. A south-country Englishman, 'of solid, self-cultivated mind, affectionate heart, generous disposition, genial spirit, and courteous demeanour, and of energetic, persevering action,' Draper came at the right moment ; more than any other single man, he helped to carry to its flood the tide of revived hope and enterprise which set in with Orton's administration. We shall meet his name again in South Australia. The whole of the Australian Church came to feel the force of his sterling character and his bold initiative, which was always sustained by sagacious planning and by

indefatigable labour. He was one of the earliest Presidents of the Australasian Conference (1859). Daniel Draper met bravely a tragic death in January, 1866, through the foundering of the steamship *London* in the Bay of Biscay, on board of which he was returning from an official visit to the British Conference.

His companion in 1835 was Frederick Lewis, a Preacher of Welsh origin, without Draper's extraordinary administrative gifts, but 'full of fire and love.' Lewis was pre-eminent in the pulpit; 'his ministry was wonderfully blessed in the conversion of sinners.' He, too, gave the strength of his days to the Australian work, which he only left in 1854, when compelled to become a supernumerary.

Openings for extension now presented themselves on all sides; urgent requests for Missionaries were made, especially by the northern and western counties, in which the colonial settlements were multiplying fast. The people were crying out for the Gospel; the warmth of heart which characterized Methodism, its spiritual brotherhood, and the adaptable and unconventional form of its worship, commended it to colonial taste; its system was excellently suited to the needs of a new country. But the four existing Circuits furnished work more than enough to occupy the scanty force upon the field. The renewed energy and success of the Mission on its older stations provoked demands to which small and slenderly-officered Churches could very partially respond. The relapse experienced in the twenties had prevented Methodism gathering the momentum which should have carried it forward along the whole line, now that the opportunity had come. Advances were made, however, and the list of Circuits lengthened from year to year. The occupation of Maitland has been already noted; simultaneously a petition came from the Lower Hawkesbury Valley, nearer to Sydney, where 11,000 people were dwelling within a compass of sixty miles, nearly all of English and Protestant birth, with but a single Minister of religion serving amongst them. The residents promised £150 annually toward the support of a Wesleyan Missionary, but none was available. For the present the wants of this District could only be met, in a fashion more tantalizing than satisfying, by occasional visits from the distant Windsor Minister. In 1839 the first resident Preacher was stationed at 'Lower Hawkesbury': this was Samuel Wilkinson, another of the staunch men given by England to the Australian

work in the later thirties. Living till 1899, this devoted Missionary bore through his long ministry an unblemished reputation, labouring with incessant diligence and living in the deep affection of the people. By 1840 the three original Circuits had become six, and the Church membership stood at 308, more than half of this number belonging to the Sydney Circuit. The daughter district of Van Diemen's Land had far outrun her mother in this respect. By this time the newer Australian colonies claimed the attention of the Missionary Society. Already in the Stations of 1837 two Missionaries are assigned to Port Phillip,¹ where a fresh attempt was on foot to reach the Aborigines. Next year the name of William Longbottom is attached to Swan River, in Western Australia; but in 1839 Longbottom is found at Adelaide, and John Smithies was actually the pioneer Missionary of Swan River. These three remote posts, for the present, figure as Circuits in the New South Wales District; each of them was the cradle of a great and widespreading Church, nursed in its infancy by the mother Mission of Sydney, herself up to this date of little more than childish growth and strength.

Edward Sweetman, who had been designated to Sydney in 1834, but was wrecked on the outward voyage and employed for a while in Gibraltar, commenced colonial work in 1839. Sweetman was a colleague worthy of the men introduced in the last few paragraphs; he contributed with them to lift Methodism to the place of honour and enduring power it had gained in Australia by the middle of last century. He is described as 'one of nature's noblemen,' of 'grave and dignified mien, affable and courteous manners, deep and unaffected piety—a Preacher of a very superior order.' His utterance was deliberate, but marked by a wisdom and weight which 'caused him to be regarded as an oracle.' Jonathan Innes, marked by his name as a Scotchman, the first Missionary put in charge at Hunter's River, exercised a ministry of twenty-four years in the colonies, approving himself as 'a sound theologian and an instructive Preacher.' The men who built up Australian Methodism during this period were not distinguished by brilliant gifts, but rather by solid qualities of thought and character, by the thoroughness of their work, by their strict fidelity and hearty co-operation.

¹ In 'Australia Felix.'

The foundations of the colony of New South Wales had been laid in material of the faultiest kind, and its criminal elements were being constantly reinforced by fresh importations from the British jails. Alarmed at the moral conditions resulting from this mode of colonizing, the Government in 1833 determined to assist by State aid the introduction of Missionaries of all the recognized religious denominations. The Anglicans and Presbyterians, but especially the Roman Catholics, made much use of this invitation.¹ 'Within the last six months,' it was reported from Sydney a little later, 'no less than a dozen Roman priests have arrived, each of whom has received from the home Government the sum of £150 toward his outfit and passage.' The New South Wales Synod urged the Missionary Committee to seize the opportunity now afforded. The plea is echoed in the *Annual Report* of the Missionary Society for 1840:

The progress of our Mission in this colony [it is said] has latterly been very considerable. New chapels are rising; new Societies and Congregations are in course of formation; and loud calls are made for additional Missionaries.

M'Kenny is cited as reporting

a wonderful change within the last two years . . . which appears not only by the increased attendance at Divine worship, but also by the general desire for religious instruction and pastoral care.

He attributes this movement to 'the great number of religious people' arriving as immigrants, as well as to

the late stir that has been made in England and here respecting the religious interests of the convict population, leading the settlers generally to desire the instruction and moral improvement of their assigned servants.²

In the Sydney chapels, he says, there have been for some time no sittings to let. It was a thousand pities that the response made by the Missionary Society to the challenge of the situation was so inadequate. The tide had come in the affairs of New

¹ The Congregationalists consistently refused to participate in this concurrent endowment, which was continued until State aid was withdrawn from all the Churches in New South Wales. The system was peculiar to this Colony.

² The custom had grown up of letting out the labour of the convicts, under bond to the Colonial farmers for a fixed period, or indenturing them as servants in some other capacity. This position was often the stepping-stone to freedom. To cunning criminals it afforded opportunities of escape.

South Wales which, 'taken at the flood,' would surely have 'led on to fortune.' The Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and to a less extent the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, seized the occasion to consolidate their position in the colony, while Methodism, which had been second in date of occupation, dropped behind in the race, and took thereafter the third place amongst the Protestant Churches of New South Wales, where it might and should have been in the very front. Unfortunately for Australia, pleas of like urgency were coming at this time from all the chief Mission Fields—from the West Indies and North America, from Africa South and West, and not least from the Missions to the heathen of the South Seas. The ten men the New South Wales Methodists asked for from home were not to be found. Four were appointed, who figured nominally as assigned to 'the New South Wales District'; but they were geographically as remote from the mother colony as mid-Europe or Russia from England. In apology for the failure of the Missionary Committee to meet the emergency, it should also be said that the progress of the New South Wales Circuits, while more satisfactory in recent years, was not yet such as to warrant sanguine hopes of their future.

The strange names of Wollongong and Cowpastures appear on the list of Circuits for 1843, the former a coast town lying thirty or forty miles south of Sydney. These stations were the outcome of the restless itinerancy of William Schofield, who took charge of the Sydney Circuit about the year 1840; they had been for some time ripe for occupation. An Irish Methodist family of the name of Black settled in this district. On landing at Sydney they had presented their tickets of Church membership, and the indefatigable Schofield was soon on their track, reaching them at their new home in the autumn of 1839. Here, at Dapto, he found a Society of sixteen members already formed, who welcomed him with delight; the promise of land for a chapel had also been secured. John Vidler, of this township, who had started a Sunday school in his house, was elected Class-leader, and arrangements were made for regular preaching. At the following Synod it was reported:

This part of the country is rapidly increasing in population, and demands the attention of the Committee. We have a class at Wollongong [John Vidler's class]; and numbers of immigrant Wesleyans are scattered over the District who are destitute of the means of grace.

A little later the same Missionary writes : ' The prospects are flattering ; we have three Classes, and very important congregations.' Soon the chapel was raised, housing 200 worshippers, and the Society had grown to sixty-four. At this stage formal application was made for a Minister, but it was several years before the petition could be granted. This is a typical example of the planting of Methodism in the colonies. Out of the Wollongong Circuit, by the middle of the forties, the Camden Circuit had grown—this more elegant name replaced ' Cowpastures.'

The returns of Church membership for 1843 gave a total in the New South Wales Circuits of 938, more than trebling the number of three years earlier. The Sydney Circuit now contained a substantial church of 400 souls. The glowing anticipations which the Synod had expressed in its letters to the Mission House already justified themselves ; Methodism in New South Wales at last was *marching* ; from this time forward its advance was rapid and sure. Had the home Church furnished the number of Missionary-captains required it might have been far wider. For lack of reapers the increase gathered in this season of ripeness, though considerable and gratifying, fell short of its possibilities.

The District, however, in the hour of need made shift to help itself. The Stations of 1843 include the names of two 'assistant Missionaries,' sons of the Mission itself. One of these was John Watsford, the first Methodist Preacher born on Australian soil, who became an heroic Fijian pioneer. In his later years he was twice President of the Australian Conference, and stood out as chief amongst the fathers of his Church. He was a great soul-winner throughout his course, and a most convincing missionary advocate. Watsford's autobiography, entitled *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, reveals the spirit and power of this prince of home-bred Australian evangelists.

The second local probationer added to the ministry at this time was William Lightbody, who in his earlier days had travelled amongst the Irish Primitive Wesleyans.¹ Emigrating to New South Wales, he became a schoolmaster at Newcastle

¹The Primitive Wesleyan Connexion of Ireland originated in a schism of 'Church Methodists,' who rejected the Plan of Pacification of 1797, and refused to recognize the separation of Methodism from the Established Church consummated by that instrument. This small and select Communion was afterwards reunited to the main Wesleyan body.

(N.S.W.), where he proved a most useful Wesleyan Local Preacher. Called to the ministry in 1844, Lightbody did good and sound service in difficult Circuits for many years, dying a supernumerary in 1879. One or two other young men were put on probation about the same date, but failed to proceed. After the misunderstandings and discouragements the District experienced in the cases of its early candidates during the twenties, the New South Wales Synod for many years was slow to make proposals of that nature. A provincial ministry was not reared in Australia with anything like the facility exhibited in Canada.

Benjamin Hurst was a man of note in the missionary ranks who has not been mentioned hitherto. Appointed to Australia from England about the same time as Butters, Draper, and Lewis, he had been engaged for several years in the Mission to the Aborigines, which was founded at Buntingdale (near Melbourne) by way of resuming the abandoned work of William Walker. In 1842, when Schofield was transferred to the newly opened station of Melbourne, Hurst came to fill his place in New South Wales; in that colony he laboured for ten years. A man of burning enthusiasm, his ministry was effective in a high degree; he not only wrought nobly himself, but he raised up in all his Circuits zealous workers for the Church. Hurst came into the possession of a large property, the ownership of which did not diminish his ardour nor clog his activity, but gave him the means, which he used without stint, of helping his Church in its financial exigencies.

The British Government, in the year 1840, after a series of petitions and remonstrances, which began to assume a dangerous tone, ceased to ship convicts to New South Wales; the colony no longer served as a waste-heap for the moral refuse of the old country.¹ From this date emigrants of the better sort poured in abundantly; the population of Sydney mounted up,² and the more accessible and cultivable lands of the interior were enclosed. Immense areas of the dry upland plains beyond the coastal range of the Blue Mountains were stocked with sheep, while the lower valleys sloping eastwards, which enjoyed

¹ Transportation to Australia, however, continued till 1865. Each Colony thus used protested in its turn, until with the growth of the free population the protest became too strong to remain unheeded.

² In 1848 the population of Sydney and its suburbs was estimated at 50,000. By this time there were ten Wesleyan chapels in and about the city.

an abundant rainfall, became covered with corn and cattle and with fruitful orchards. Communication both by land and water was made easier and swifter, and New South Wales, throughout the area within fifty miles of Sydney, assumed the appearance of a thriving European province. The value of Australia to the mother country began to be realized ; discerning eyes foresaw the splendid future awaiting the island continent, and the immense contribution it was capable of making to the resources of the British Empire.

These circumstances added force to the appeals of the Australian Mission for larger help, which had hitherto elicited a somewhat reluctant, not to say grudging, response. The belief prevailed amongst English Methodists that the colonists, living in a fertile country and obtaining land at an almost nominal price, were man for man decidedly better off than themselves. The funds raised for carrying the Gospel to the heathen, and contributed in great part by poor people with much sacrifice, ought not, it was argued, to be spent upon those who, if they cared, could well afford to pay for their own religious institutions. Men who hardened their hearts against colonial Missions by such reasonings failed to consider how very large a proportion of the emigrants to the colonies were driven to seek new homes through poverty, and for years had a hard struggle to gain their footing, and that land, however rich and however cheaply bought, can yield nothing till it is reclaimed. In course of time the settlers were sure to gain wealth, and to make their Churches self-supporting ; but meanwhile a generous subsidy was indispensable.

The conflicting views and tendencies above indicated found expression in the appointment of William Binnington Boyce to supervise the Australian Methodist work, and in the instructions given to him from Bishopsgate on his dispatch to this field. He was sent out in 1845 to occupy the Chair of the New South Wales District, residing at Sydney, in succession to John M'Kenny ; but he received a much wider charge, being designated 'General Superintendent of the Australian and Van Diemen's Land District.' The latter island now became a 'Section' of the Australian province ; and over it first Nathaniel Turner and then M'Kenny were made 'Deputy Chairmen.' The oversight of a whole continent was a huge commission ; but Boyce, a Missionary statesman of no common

order, was equal to it. The sending of a man of this calibre and reputation with powers so large, showed the sense entertained by the Missionary Society of the magnitude of the Australian problem ; it expressed at the same time the desire and purpose of home Methodism that this great work of God should become self-supporting.

The Centenary of Methodism (1839) had been kept, with a good deal of demonstration, in New South Wales. Its financial proceeds were mainly spent upon the building in York Street, Sydney, of a new and worthier church, designed to replace the Macquarie Street edifice, which was unfavourably situated, and behind the times in style and furnishing. The York Street Centenary Chapel, which was opened in 1844, gave to the Methodist Church for the first time a commanding position and a visible dignity in the metropolis of Australia, suitable to its strength and character. In William B. Boyce Australian Methodism gained an ecclesiastical leader of corresponding mark and eminence.

III

EARLY DAYS IN TASMANIA

Van Diemen's Land—Benjamin Carvosso—Methodist Soldiers—Arrival of Samuel Leigh—Mansfield at Hobart Town—Methodism attacked—Sir George Arthur—William Butters—Joseph Orton appointed Chairman—John Waterhouse—Educational Institutions—Horton College.

THE island of Tasmania lies south of Australia, being situate in relation to the mainland as the Isle of Wight toward Great Britain or Sicily toward Italy. Hobart, the chief town and port, stands near the southern apex, being distant 600 miles from Sydney. In area the country is above five-sixths the size of Ireland. The island enjoys a more equable climate than the neighbouring continent, its summers resembling those of England, while its winters are relatively warmer. It is full of natural beauty. Sharing in the agricultural and mineral wealth of Australia, Tasmania has been peopled in similar fashion ; historically and politically, it is an integral part of the Australian Commonwealth.

Standing off, as it does, from the south of Australia, Tasmania lies in the track of eastward navigation from the Cape of Good Hope or from the Indies, so that it presented itself early to European sailors pushing their way toward the Pacific. The Dutch sea-captain Abel Jans Tasman, on his south-eastward voyage from Batavia (Java) in the year 1642, first sighted the shore. He landed here and made some exploration as he passed on his way to the greater discovery of New Zealand. Tasman named the country *Van Diemen's Land*, after the Dutch Governor of Batavia who had sent him on this expedition. This awkward designation, in 1853, was changed by the British occupiers to *Tasmania*, in honour of the discoverer himself. In Tasman's second voyage (1644) he traced out great part of the northern, western, and southern coasts of Australia, to which the name of 'New Holland' was given at this time in anticipation of Dutch possession. The Dutch

adventurers, whose hands were occupied with their rich mercantile possessions in the East Indies, did no more than give names to New Holland, New Zealand, and Van Diemen's Land, which offered small inducements to the trader. It remained for Captain Cook to disclose the potential value of these regions of the Antipodes.

Tasman did not follow the south coast far enough eastwards to perceive the gap separating the outlier from the mass of the continent, the existence of which was unsuspected until 1798, when Lieutenant Bass, setting out from Sydney, surveyed the south-eastern shores of Australia and circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land. *Bass Strait* preserves the name of this explorer, as *Flinders Island*, lying in the Strait, commemorates his companion, Captain Flinders.

Tasmania came in this way to be associated with the New South Wales colony. Captain Cook had already touched here, in 1777, on his second voyage to New Zealand; indeed, British ships making for the Pacific were bound to strike this coast. No maritime power settled on the eastern side of Australia could afford to see Tasmania in hostile occupation. It was not, however, till 1803 that the Governor of New South Wales, alarmed by the movements of the French in this direction, sent a force under Lieutenant Bowen—consisting in the first instance of eight soldiers, three civil officers, and twenty-five convicts—to seize the south of Van Diemen's Land. The slender company landed on the estuary of the River Derwent, near the head of Storm Bay, on the south-east of the island. Other detachments of convicts and soldiers were forwarded when the first party had secured a footing. In 1807 a much larger body of men was transferred hither from Port Phillip, on the mainland, where the position occupied had proved unsuitable; this contingent was under the command of a Colonel Collins, who founded Hobart Town, near the spot where Bowen had landed, naming the place after the British Colonial Secretary of that time. This proved an excellent site, for the purposes both of a naval port and of inland communication; and Hobart remains to this day the capital of the island and its largest and most prosperous town. Collins was the first Lieutenant-Governor. In the same year a penal settlement was made, drawn from the overflow of New South Wales, at Port Dalrymple, on the north shore of the island by the mouth of the

Tamar, which in a short time migrated up the river to a better situation. Such was the origin of Launceston, the second town of Van Diemen's Land. In 1806 the free colonists of Norfolk Island (lying out in the Pacific far east of Australia), which was required as a prison for incorrigible convicts, were transported to Tasmania, where they received valuable lands in the interior. In 1807 the colony suffered a severe dearth, from causes resembling those which had formerly brought the same calamity upon New South Wales. But Tasmania, helped by the experience of its elder sister, surmounted its difficulties, and made fairly rapid advance in order and industry. Free immigration during the early years took place here in larger proportion than in New South Wales, and the pernicious influences generated by convict colonization were never so much in the ascendant. In 1821, about the time of the first Methodist Missionary's landing, it is supposed there were 2,700 residents in Hobart, and perhaps 8,000 white people on the island. The majority of these were still under penal discipline.

Although the government of Van Diemen's Land at no time fell into the disgraceful condition which prevailed for some years in New South Wales, the moral state of the colony, the larger part of whose constituency was of criminal origin, was similarly, if not so deeply, depraved. Even so late as 1831, when Nathaniel Turner, coming back to Hobart Town after nine years' absence, recognized that great strides had been made in moral and social improvement, he 'nevertheless found himself among a community whose general character was unlovely and unclean.' The majority of the servants, in all occupations, were indentured convicts hired by employers under contract with the Government, while many of the free labourers, and even tradesmen, were on 'ticket of leave.' The parents of the Hobart manse 'deeply felt for their children,' who 'breathed a tainted air,' and saw here 'more vice in a week than they had known in all their lives.' As at Sydney, so at Hobart, the first Anglican chaplain put in religious charge of the settlement was well meaning, but proved weak and inefficient. For nearly twenty years the colony had no other spiritual instructor. The second chaplain succeeding to this office was a man of God named William Bedford; 'horrified at the prevalent drunkenness and indecency,' he 'wept, he

raged, he prayed.' The officials, both of higher rank and lower, were most of them living in shameless sin :

Against these he thundered in the church, which they were bound by etiquette to attend. He appealed to the executive. If a change of heart could not be secured, at least the outward shame of sin might be removed.

How, he asked, could he 'enforce the seventh commandment on the convicts, when they saw its open violation by their superiors?' Bedford's fearless rebukes and appeals, like those of Marsden at an earlier time in Sydney, were not in vain. He found a potent ally in Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, appointed in 1824, who, roused by Bedford's denunciations, took measures to suppress public immorality and to rid the Government service of its scandals. A struggle ensued between the Governor and chaplain, on one side, supported by the decent elements of the community including the band of Methodists gathered by this time, while on the other side stood the ring of profligate officers. Hard blows were struck on both sides; but the Puritan party prevailed, and the public life of the infant colony was purged of the foulest of its offences. This battle for purity, fought by an heroic clergyman who was at first single-handed,¹ gave an impetus to the cause of religion in the colony, and gained for the Anglican Church, as in New South Wales, a prestige greatly favourable to her subsequent progress. She numbers at the present time half the population of Tasmania as her own.

Some years before the advent of Chaplain Bedford, while religion was at the lowest ebb, the first Methodist Preacher set foot in Tasmania. This was the young Missionary, Benjamin Carvosso, who landed at Hobart Town in May, 1820, *en route* for Sydney. He was allowed to preach in the yard of the Court-house, and also on Sunday to the prisoners. In this way he spent four days at Hobart, gathering congregations growingly large. The people, who suffered a famine of the Word of God, were loth to let him go. Carvosso reported at Sydney, and to the Missionary Society at home, the great need of Hobart Town, and its readiness to hear the Gospel. Ralph Mansfield, who followed Carvosso from England in August,

¹ William (known in later life as Dr.) Bedford, lived to a ripe age, and was honoured and revered throughout Tasmania.

calling at Hobart, had a like experience. He was able to announce that a Missionary would soon be provided.¹

A month or two later a regimental company was removed from Sydney to Hobart Town, to which three Methodist soldiers belonged, one of these being Corporal George Waddy.² They discovered a civilian, by name Benjamin Nokes, of the same persuasion, whom they invited to be their Class-leader. A handful of others, who had been stirred by the preaching of Carvosso and Mansfield, joined the little band, and a class of eight members met at the house of Nokes in Collins Street. A week or two after this a Mr. Wallis, of Liverpool Street, offered them in his residence a room more convenient for preaching, where Corporal Waddy took the preacher's desk. Regular public worship was carried on here, despite much annoyance and some popular violence; the preaching-room quickly became too strait for its congregation. The Society now migrated to a carpenter's shop, lent and fitted up for the purpose by Charles Donn (or Cranmer)³, a reformed convict, who with his wife—a woman who had deeply fallen—were amongst the first to attach themselves to the Methodist Society. Donn's carpentry-shed held 200 people; he had to enlarge it for a congregation of 300. The Government protected the Methodists from the attempts of the Hobart mob to stop their worship; and the congregation was still increasing, when, early in 1821, Waddy and his soldier-comrades were transferred to another convict-station in the island, leaving Benjamin Nokes alone to shepherd the little church gathered at Hobart Town. A Sunday school—the first in the island—was started in connexion with the Hobart Society in May. In the summer of 1821, Nokes, with a companion, visited New Norfolk—a settlement of the Norfolk Islanders situated inland—and held services there. Plans were at once formed for building a Methodist chapel at this spot. Chaplain Bedford had by this time commenced his John-the-Baptist-like ministry at Hobart

¹ As early as 1817, Leigh, writing from Sydney, informed the Missionary Committee of the situation in Hobart Town, and urged its speedy occupation. In the stations of 1820 Carvosso is actually designated for this post; but he was required in New South Wales in consequence of Leigh's breakdown.

² This devoted man is said to have been a connexion of the eminent Methodist family of that name represented in the last generation by Dr. Samuel D. Waddy.

³ He claimed to be of the line of the famous Archbishop Cranmer, but changed his name after his conviction for crime.

Town, and there was no small stir about matters of religion and public morals.

So much had been accomplished toward the planting of Methodism within little more than a year of the appearance of the first Preacher ; and such was the condition of things in Tasmania when Samuel Leigh, returning from England to Sydney, landed at Hobart Town on August 8, 1821. He was now commissioned to evangelize the Maoris of New Zealand ; at the same time he had been designated ' General Superintendent ' of Missions in the South Seas. In virtue of this authority he detached for service in Tasmania one of the two companions (William Horton and William Walker) bound along with him for New South Wales. He had the more right to do this as Carvosso had been already for two successive years (1820-1821) designated by the Conference for Hobart Town, but detained for Sydney ; it was the simpler course to drop Horton at Hobart, allowing Carvosso to stay on in New South Wales.

William Horton laid good foundations during his two years' labour in Tasmania. For the second year he had the valuable assistance of Nathaniel Turner, who reached Hobart in May, 1822, on his way to New Zealand, whither he found himself forbidden to proceed in consequence of the tribal war then raging. A horse was obtained from Sydney, by the use of which preaching-places were opened inland and an extensive Circuit formed. Regular visits were paid to the convict prison, where the Methodist ministry was greatly prized, and some wonderful conversions were effected through God's grace. Bedford was still the only clergyman in the island, and the work of chaplaincy amongst the thousands of prisoners, besides soldiers and civilians, was utterly beyond any single man's strength. When Horton took charge, a two-acre block of land had been already assigned by Governor Sorell (Arthur's predecessor) to the Methodists for the erection of a chapel in Hobart Town ; the location proving unsuitable it was exchanged for another plot in the middle of the town. Here building had been already commenced ; but as the £400 raised on the spot was insufficient, while the Missionary Committee could not furnish either grant or loan and Horton refused to contract a debt, the building was stopped with the walls half-raised. Not till four years later, in Mansfield's time, was its completion

effected. Corporal (now Sergeant) Waddy had been removed from Hobart to the lonely prison station of Macquarie Harbour, on the western side of the island, to which place were drafted the felons convicted for further crime committed in the Colonies. Desperadoes most of these were, of a violent and repulsive type, and Macquarie Harbour was described as 'a veritable hell upon earth.' Here, however, Waddy succeeded in starting a Class-meeting, aided by occasional visits from the Hobart Missionary. Conversions were witnessed, and Methodism struck root in this terrible place. Sergeant Waddy left Macquarie Harbour, with the removal of his troop, in two or three years; his work was continued in the first instance by John Hutchinson, sent as a Lay Agent from Hobart Town, who did such good service that he was promoted to the ministry, in whose ranks he laboured usefully, both in the colonies and the Friendly Islands, for a number of years. Much labour was spent upon this station, where little or no return in the way of establishing a Church could be expected, as reclaimed convicts were removed from Macquarie Harbour. Governor Arthur deeply interested himself in this Mission, and secured the appointment of a Wesleyan Minister to the chaplaincy. William Schofield, the first holder of this charge (appointed in 1828), fulfilled its duties with exemplary devotion. A couple of Quaker philanthropists about this time made a tour in the island, investigating its social and moral conditions. They reported thus on Macquarie Harbour :

The labours of William Schofield were . . . crowned with encouraging success. He found a difficulty in persuading the men to cherish hope; but when this was once effected they began to lay hold of the offers of mercy, and some remarkable changes of character ensued. . . . Macquarie Harbour was no longer a place of despair.

John Manton and William Butters both served a severe apprenticeship in this sphere. The former succeeded Schofield in 1832, at which date the penal settlement was removed to Port Arthur, on the opposite side of the island, and the Wesleyan chaplain with it.

Launceston, the centre of a fertile and inviting valley, became a thriving town, second in importance only to Hobart Town. It soon drew the attention of the Missionaries. The substratum of the Launceston population was of the convict

order, and Horton reports the wickedness of the place as defying description. Hutchinson, still a lay agent, was transferred thither from Macquarie Harbour in 1825, and the prospect became so favourable that next year Launceston figures as a Circuit to which a regular Preacher is 'to be sent.' Hutchinson was appropriated for the Friendly Islands, and his place was left empty; the Launceston Society had to be content with occasional visits from distant Hobart Town. Despairing of help from the Missionary Society, the deserted Methodist remnant before the end of the twenties sold the church property, the trustee handing over the proceeds of the sale to the Presbyterians, who were thus assisted to build their church in Launceston. When, in consequence of the arrival of new Methodist colonists, our Church resumed its activities in this district, and Manton was appointed to Launceston in 1832, the work had to be recommenced from the foundation. But Manton was a true founder, and the Launceston Circuit grew within a few years to rival that of Hobart Town in numbers and prosperity.

Ralph Mansfield, Horton's successor (1823-26), was distinctly successful at the latter centre. He finally built the chapel in Melville Street, in whose erection Horton had stopped half-way, and gathered an excellent congregation within it. He put John Hutchinson to work, who in those early days proved a very serviceable helper. Governor Arthur, who arrived early in 1824,¹ made a friend of Mansfield, and entered heartily into his plans for the extension of the Mission. At his previous post in Jamaica he had learned to value the work of Wesleyan Methodism, and was an annual subscriber to its funds. He encouraged the completion of the Melville Street Chapel; he put the Macquarie Harbour chaplaincy into Methodist hands. The reformation of the convicts and the moral improvement of the island were primary objects of his policy. Australia owes a great debt to Governors like Macquarie and Arthur, who made themselves both 'a terror to evil-doers' and 'a praise to them that did well.' Mansfield writes of Sir George Arthur as

facilitating my labours in various parts of the colony, giving me the

¹ In the next year Van Diemen's Land was separated from New South Wales and became a Colony in its own right, Sir George Arthur being designated Governor instead of Lieutenant-Governor.

use of Government rooms for the performance of Divine service and instructing the officers to assist when in their power.

In 1826 Mansfield was removed to New South Wales. Carvosso, who had been the first Preacher in Hobart Town, and had always longed to return, changed places with him. The former was the more intellectual Preacher, the latter the more efficient pastor and the steadier man. He builded well upon the foundations laid. Each of the three Missionaries who laboured successively during the first ten years at Hobart showed himself here at his best. Benjamin Carvosso, indeed, failed to extend the area of the Mission ; the dropping of the work at Launceston took place during his superintendency ; he left the Methodist Church on the island in numbers pretty much as he found it. But its quality was improved through his influence ; the families under his care became thoroughly attached to Methodism, and things were put in train for the progress effected by his successors. In 1830 failing health brought him finally home to England.

The energetic and popular Hutchinson was put into the place vacated at Hobart. In the course of a year or two he was diverted by secular attractions, and his withdrawal damaged the slowly growing Society. Some of Hutchinson's friends

conceived that in the circumstances which led to his taking this step he had been harshly treated by his ministerial brethren, and in consequence withdrew from Wesleyan fellowship, holding themselves aloof from the Church in a factious spirit.

During Hutchinson's ministry a dispute arose over the use of the Anglican liturgy in the Hobart Town Chapel—a question which for years agitated the little church. At this juncture Nathaniel Turner, invalided from the Friendly Islands, reappeared upon the scene ; he was the emergency man of Australian Methodism. Turner's active and faithful labours, his fine Christian spirit, reinvigorated the Mission ; the ranks, thinned by disaffection, were soon more than replenished.

The new Missionary gave attention to the outlying parts of the Circuit ; he enlisted a superior Local Preacher named Leach,¹ who shared with him the extensive area covered by

¹ Two other Local Preachers, Lovell and Wilkinson, who rendered invaluable service to the Hobart Town Circuit, settled here as colonists from England about the time of Turner's appointment.

his ministrations. Leach was never brought into the ministry, though his talent and usefulness marked him out for this vocation; after itinerating for some time under Turner's direction, he settled down at Launceston, where he was the means of reviving Methodism, now all but extinct. Turner visited his fellow labourer here, traversing on horseback the distance of 121 miles from Hobart, and preaching at every halting-place on the way. He found a population grown to over 1,000, with scanty religious provision, and eager for efficient preaching of the Gospel. He restored Launceston, therefore, to his Circuit Plan, and succeeded in visiting the town once a quarter. A line of preaching-places was established on the road linking it to Hobart. Philip Oakden about this time made his home in Launceston, where he allied himself with the feeble Methodist folk. This gentleman became a successful merchant and banker, and a leading factor in the prosperity of Launceston; he proved through life a pillar of his Church and a firm upholder of civic righteousness.¹ In 1834 the time had come to plant a Missionary at Launceston. The first appointment—that of John Manton, transferred from Macquarie Harbour—was particularly happy. In the four years of Manton's labours here he formed a comparatively large Society, and evangelized the north of the island. His able ministry and dignity of character gave a standing to Methodism in Launceston which impressed its whole subsequent history.

An attack was made on Tasmanian Methodism in the early thirties such as it has suffered from in other colonies. It was represented to Governor Arthur, on ecclesiastical authority, that the Methodist Superintendent Turner was employing immoral persons as Local Preachers; and, further, that Wesleyan methods and teaching were unsuitable for convicts, and made religion cheap! Probably the jealousy between 'Emancipists' and 'Exclusives,' which we have noted in New South Wales Society, partly prompted these insinuations. As it happened, a couple of members of the Society of Friends were just then in Van Diemen's Land, engaged in studying the moral condition of the colony, and making particular and

¹ The Oakdens were one of the number—large in comparison with the size of our Societies—of intelligent and leading families in the Colony identified with Methodism, who served their Church loyally in the times of its early struggles. These included the Hortons of Ross, the Sherwins and Stephenson of Launceston, the Johnsons of Green Ponds, Robinson 'the Conciliator,' the Hiddlestones, Chapmans, Hopkinsons, and Mathers of Hobart Town.

detailed inquiry into the reformatory work carried on by the various Churches. Their published findings showed that three-fourths of the convicts, brought, in various parts of the island, to a saving knowledge of God and an honest new life, owed their conversion to Methodist agency. Sir George Arthur tested the report by his own inquiries, and stated to his Council that the Wesleyans had done more for the convicts than all other Churches put together.

Sunday schools were multiplied and improved ; temperance work, now for the first time organized here, and the operations of the Bible and Tract Societies, were actively prosecuted ; in addition to these, the local Benevolent Society at Hobart Town prospered under Turner's leadership. Toward the end of his term his manifold labours were shared by a missionary colleague, in the person of Stephen Rabone, arrested for some months at Hobart on his way to New South Wales. This young Minister, who grew to be a commanding figure in Colonial Methodism, and an early President of the Australasian Conference, contracted through their brief collaboration in Tasmania a friendship with Turner which greatly influenced the lives of both men.

At the close of 1834 Turner laid down his eventful superintendency, during which the Church membership of his Circuit had been increased fourfold (it was now close upon 200). Joseph Orton, migrating hither from Sydney, took charge of Hobart ; and the Tasmanian Circuits of Hobart Town, Port Arthur, and Launceston, with three Preachers, were severed from New South Wales to form a separate new District under Orton's chairmanship. Containing only 224 Church members, ' the Van Diemen's Land District ' was obviously unequal to the title, ' District,' but the great distance from Sydney, and the uncertainty of communication, made separation desirable ; and the District justified its existence by its rapid advance from this time onwards.

William Butters had been the first Wesleyan chaplain at Port Arthur, the new penal settlement replacing Macquarie Harbour, where nearly 1,000 twice-convicted felons were herded under a rule of iron discipline. Only five women lived in the place, the wives of officials or soldiers ; gentleness and humane care were hardly dreamed of in this doleful spot. Butter's zeal was daunted by no horrors of evil ; his warmth of

heart was quenched by no official coldness. The success which attended his ministry was in some cases marvellous to a miracle. This noble Missionary, a native of North Lincolnshire, entered the ministry in 1833 ; he ' travelled ' in Tasmania until 1846, when he was removed to the continent. We shall meet him later at Melbourne, where he rose to the height of his influence ; he became the third President of the Australasian Conference (1858). His strength failed after some thirty years of most strenuous toil spent in laying the foundations of the kingdom of God in Australia ; but he was spared to enjoy a green old age in his native land, and died in London in 1887. Two years of the solitude and the terrible scenes of Port Arthur — ' absolutely the vilest spot of earth man ever set his foot upon,' writes one Missionary—were as much as the strongest could endure, and Butters was replaced there in 1836 by William Simpson, who came hither from New South Wales, himself joining Orton at Hobart Town. Subsequently John A. Manton returned to Port Arthur for a second term. A refined and intellectual man, to him it was like a burial to live at Port Arthur, in daily communion with ruffianism and besotment ; but he never shrank from the task, and earned undying gratitude from men in whose breast he had reawakened the spark of God-given humanity.

The Wesleyan chaplaincy at Port Arthur terminated during Manton's appointment. Some eighteen months prior to this an advertisement had appeared in the *Britannia* newspaper for an Anglican clergyman for the settlement, but no response was forthcoming, and the Wesleyan chaplain remained on sufferance till 1844. The displacement was contrary to the spirit of the law, for in 1838 an Act was passed by the Tasmanian Legislature modelled on that of New South Wales, which placed the Churches on an equal footing.

Joseph Orton's appointment to the Chair of the newly constituted District of Van Diemen's Land was eventful for the Methodism of the island, as it had been for that of New South Wales. Nathaniel Turner's superintendency had already brought the Tasmanian Societies into a healthy and growing condition ; they received a fresh stimulus through the fatherly oversight and enlarged views of the new chief. The District now created was diminutive in constituency, but, as Orton saw, it was charged with a potent life, and was on the eve of

great expansion. In 1836 three Preachers were stationed at Hobart Town, in order to overtake the extended work of the Circuit and to leave the Chairman free for District supervision. One of the new Ministers was the vigorous and enthusiastic William Butters. This step speedily bore fruit in the creation of a fourth Circuit—'New Norfolk, Ross, and Longford'—covering the hinterland between Hobart Town and Launceston; the Church membership of the District was now 442, having doubled itself in two years. Except Port Arthur, with its single chaplain, each of the Circuits now employed two Missionaries. John Eggleston, a future Australasian President (1860), commenced his course in the Hobart Town Circuit in 1838. Late in the previous year the foundation was laid of a new and handsome Methodist church in Melville Street, Hobart, by the Governor of the colony, Sir John Franklin.¹ The new Melville Street Chapel was completed after Orton's departure in 1840. Earlier in 1837 the building of the Longford chapel took place. These were gladdening tokens of progress.

The chief event of Orton's administration, however, lay outside the island, and will furnish the starting-point of our next chapter. Tasmania was the mother of the great colony of Victoria, where land was first taken up, and the site of Melbourne city fixed, by prospectors from this island. Some of these adventurers were Methodists. Orton watched their enterprise with keen interest, and himself went across with them to reconnoitre the land of promise. The consequence was that a new Circuit was formed, under the name of 'Port Phillip,' which originally belonged to Van Diemen's Land District; in 1839, however, it was transferred to the care of New South Wales. The Port Phillip Circuit was designed in the first instance as a Mission to the Aborigines, who, as Orton judged, could be best reached from this direction. But from its inception white settlers, amongst whom there was a sprinkling of Methodists, claimed attention from the Missionaries; very quickly colonial interests in this region assumed commanding importance.

Orton's health, never robust since his coming to Australia and further strained by his unsparing labours, declined from this time, even in the wholesome Tasmanian climate; he was compelled to seek retirement to England. Though relieved

of his duties at Hobart Town by the coming of John Waterhouse, in October, 1840, he consented to delay his voyage in order to meet the pressing needs of Melbourne. Here he nursed the infant Society, until he was able to hand over his charge to the Missionary appointed from England. He traced the first lines of Methodism in Australia Felix (as 'Victoria' was then called), and he visited and reported upon the rising settlement of Adelaide, in South Australia, far to the west of Melbourne. Joseph Orton's lingering for this purpose probably cost him his life. He finally sailed for home early in 1842, in great debility; but he never reached British shores, dying on the voyage, in the month of April, 1842. In the stormy waters about Cape Horn his body was committed to the deep.

The letter which Orton addressed to the London Committee in 1838 was a sort of valedictory charge and prophecy. He had seen how sorely the work in Australia had suffered for want of authority and the gift of government amongst its pioneers, and how much might be effected there, even in a short time, by competent leadership; accordingly he writes as follows:

The growing importance of the settlements of Australasia, which are rapidly increasing in number and making great advance in general improvement, demands the consideration of the Committee and Conference. The rising Societies in the respective colonies and settlements with which our shores are already studded will, ere long, be one of the most interesting departments of Wesleyan labour (especially taking in the islands of Tonga and New Zealand), provided that the whole be brought under a vigilant, judicious, and effective supervision¹; which, in order to secure the respective parts and provide for the wellbeing of the whole, must be the case at no very distant period, and is demanded by circumstances, especially by the remoteness from the mother country. A native ministry for these parts will in course of time be gradually supplied from internal resources, but the time has not yet come when this can be efficiently accomplished. To force it would be inexpedient.

Orton rightly perceived that the extreme distance of the Australasian field from head quarters in England, and the uncertainty attaching to the judgement passed and the instructions given by the Missionary Committee upon events and transactions at the other side of the globe and reported five or

¹ The recent course of the New Zealand Mission enforced the lessons drawn from the experience of New South Wales to this effect.

six months after their occurrence, made it imperative that some strong and reliable executive should be fixed on the spot, entrusted with large discretionary powers. The mistakes and confusion which, before Orton's coming, brought the New South Wales Mission so near disaster, were due to the lack of proper District control.

Orton's letter probably influenced the Missionary Committee to the appointment of John Waterhouse—a man of thirty years' standing in the home ministry and of well-proved ability and judgement—who came out in 1839 to act as Methodist bishop of the South Seas; his title was 'General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in Australia and Polynesia.' Hobart was chosen for his residence, as being comparatively central to the diocese; but he was to exercise a travelling superintendency of the five Districts of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Fiji. Each District in the province had its own Chairman; Nathaniel Turner, now recalled from New Zealand, held this office in Tasmania along with the superintendence of the Hobart Circuit. Waterhouse was to be a sort of super-Chairman.

A truer *episcopus*, according to the pattern set forth in the New Testament, was never seen in the Southern world. . . . His first missionary tour was to New Zealand early in 1840; his second was entered upon in October of the same year. He then visited New South Wales, New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Fiji.

His office entailed incessant fatigue, excitement, and mental and spiritual strain. A poor sailor, the constant travelling by sea was in itself a heavy tax upon his strength. Extreme nervous debility prostrated him, followed by a complication of disorders which proved fatal. He died at Hobart Town on March 30, 1842, predeceasing Orton by a few days. Not often has a death been more widely deplored, or, to human appearance, more untimely. But the spirit that John Waterhouse breathed, the standard of action he set before men's eyes, and his wise, benignant counsel, left ineffaceable impressions on the fields he visited. His memory has remained as that of a venerable and apostolic personality, to consecrate and dignify the Methodism of the South Seas.

The Van Diemen's Land missionary staff had now been

raised to the number of seven, not counting the General Superintendent; at this figure it stood for several years. Frequent interchanges were made with the mainland—the island was becoming a recognized sanatorium, men who had lost health in other Districts being sent to Van Diemen's Land for a year or two in order to recruit—but Turner, Manton, and Butters remained for a considerable time the nucleus of the District ministry. They were workmen who needed not to be ashamed, men who planned wisely and toiled bravely, who loved each other and their people well. Van Diemen's Land now began to fill up somewhat rapidly with colonists, and these of a better type than the first-comers. Preachers were wanted in many directions; the reputation of Methodism had become well established. Manton wrote in 1836, from Launceston, soon after his arrival there:

We labour until we are ready to die, yet we cannot half supply the wants of the people. It is heartrending to see the state in which the inhabitants in the interior of this colony are living; they are, however, willing to be instructed, but have no one to teach them.

In 1839 the ranks of the ministry were strengthened by the accession of Henry Honey Gaud from England, a worthy fellow-labourer with the three above named, and a stalwart of the colonial ministry, in which he spent his whole course. He was the Australasian President of 1867. Gaud served in Tasmania for a long term of years, as also did Jabez Bunting Waterhouse (son of John¹), who took a high place in the colonial ministry. The island shared with New South Wales in the labours of the saintly Edward Sweetman; for a short time it enjoyed the ministry of William Longbottom, whose most important work was done in South Australia. The exacting demands of Victoria kept the staff of the neighbouring island low in numbers; in the middle forties it fell below the normal figure of seven, which it never exceeded till after 1854, the year of independence.

For the twenty years antecedent to that date, from the days of Orton and Turner, Tasmanian Methodism, in the main, ran a tranquil course; it witnessed no signal or general revival, but on the other hand no violent strife or marked declension;

¹ Three sons of John Waterhouse followed in the same calling; all men of exceptional worth and usefulness.

growth was steady and uniform throughout the Circuits. These were increased in number by the separation of Ross from New Norfolk in 1839, and again diminished by the dropping of Port Arthur a few years later. Oatlands, Westbury, and Longford came on the list successively about 1850.

The tin-mines of Mount Bischoff and the silver-mines of Zeehan were opened subsequently to the point at which our history terminates. These developments remain comparatively isolated and on a minor scale ; they have not transformed the condition of the country, as did the discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales. The total population at the present time remains below 200,000, of whom Hobart Town holds 25,000, and Launceston something short of 20,000. The Australian gold-fever in the early fifties affected the island disadvantageously for some years by drawing away its people and depleting its moneyed capital. From these causes Methodism experienced a temporary embarrassment ; in the end the gain of the mainland proved the island's gain also. But Tasmania has constantly suffered from the attraction which the wider sphere and larger opportunities of the continent had for its more active and adventurous spirits ; the yearly emigration from the island almost equals the inflow.

During the forties and fifties the churches of this District attained self-support.

All our Connexional regulations as to finance [it is said] have been accepted by the Tasmanian Methodists from the beginning. And a people more loyal to the doctrines and discipline of the body could not be found in any part of our widespread Connexion.

It seemed as though, at the epoch the story has reached, the absence of struggle and hardship had become the peril of the Church in this colony :

Life was wrapped in a slow, snug, slumbrous peace. . . . No financial cares could break the long repose. . . . Circuit debts were a thing unknown.

This field of labour by the middle of last century was in some danger of becoming a Capua, or even a Laodicea, to its Missionaries.

Tasmania took the lead in Australian Methodist education.

The well-to-do families of the Methodist Circuits became concerned for the better education of their children. Up to the middle of last century the island was unprovided with high schools, while its isolation made it costly and precarious to send children elsewhere for training. Captain Samuel Horton, of Ross, a large proprietor who had settled in Tasmania under the advice of his cousin, William Horton, the first resident Missionary, started a movement for building a Methodist College. He offered two acres of land near to Ross, and a liberal contribution in money, amounting in the end to £1,380, for the purpose. The project was taken up by the Synod of 1850, and materialized with little delay. Five years subsequently Horton College, taking the name of its chief promoter, was opened. John Manton, by whose unique influence and sound judgement the plans had been greatly furthered, was appointed Principal of the institution. He occupied the post with honour and success for four years, until in 1859 he was removed to New South Wales, where he assisted in founding the Newington College, near Sydney, of which he was the first President. Manton was, moreover, the first elected President of the Australasian Conference, succeeding William B. Boyce in that Chair in 1857. He died in 1862, while still in the vigour of his days, a man revered and trusted for his wisdom and his selfless devotion through the whole of Australian Methodism.

Horton College (for boys) has enjoyed unbroken prosperity, and holds still a premier place amongst the schools of the colony. In due time it was supplemented by an equally flourishing Boarding School for Girls, set up at Launceston. The climate of Tasmania favours the establishment of schools of this class. Since communication has become easy, families living in Melbourne and other parts of the mainland incline to send their children, especially those of delicate constitution, across the Straits for education, provided they can find there suitable school-homes, offering religious nurture along with intellectual training, and making soul and body alike the objects of their care. These needs the Methodist Boarding Schools have sought to meet. Tasmania is coming to be known as a health-resort not only for Australia and Polynesia, but for China and the East Indies besides. Thus advantaged, the island may well become a most important educational centre.

To the Australasian Affiliated Conference, constituted in 1855, the Van Diemen's Land District (still bearing this name) contributed 6 Ministers in 8 Circuits, containing 694 Church members, with 38 on trial, under 50 Class-leaders ; 23 chapels, and 11 other preaching-places ; 28 Local Preachers ; 13 Sunday schools, attended by 1,082 scholars and employing 106 teachers ; and about 4,000 adherents, out of a population numbering at this time some 70,000. Add to this enumeration the one college, which was opened in the year above-named. These statistics represent what appears but a moderate return for thirty-three years of missionary toil. The entire period was occupied with the breaking-up of fallow ground and with seed-sowing ; much labour had been spent, and with satisfactory results, in ministering to the imprisoned convicts, on soil which could yield but a minimum of calculable fruit.

The Tasmanian District made comparatively rapid progress from the date of independence. During the next twenty years the Wesleyan Church membership was more than doubled, while the population grew by about 5 per cent. The accelerated rate of progress has been since maintained. At the present time our Church membership (after the reunion of the Methodist bodies, effected in 1902) amounts to about 3,000, with perhaps 18,000 adherents, out of a population ten times as large.

IV

GOLD AND THE GOSPEL IN VICTORIA

Australia Felix—The Launceston Expedition—Governor Latrobe—Joseph Orton again—Schofield and Sweetman—Victoria a separate District—The Rush for Gold—The ' Wesleyan Immigrants' Home '—Reinforcements from England—The Basis of sound Citizenship—Notable Ministers.

THE early years of the State of Victoria in Australia supply the most marvellous chapter in the history of British colonization. The occupation of this region came about somewhat late, considering the attractiveness of the country, to which the first explorers, setting out from Sydney, had given the name 'Australia Felix.' In 1802 the expedition which discovered Bass's Straits sailed into Hobson's Bay at the head of Port Phillip, on the shore of which the city of Melbourne now stands. In the following year the River Yarra-yarra was explored, and Captain Collins, with his company of convicts, arrived at Port Phillip, prospecting with a view to settlement there. Failing to find a site suitable for a penal establishment, he crossed the Strait to Van Diemen's Land. So Victoria escaped the misfortune which had befallen New South Wales and Tasmania of having her foundations laid in the vicious human material of which the mother country was ridding herself by transportation across the earth. Being thus passed by, Australia Felix had to wait thirty years longer for the replenishing and subduing of her soil. Her pioneer colonists hailed from the neighbouring island, by this date fairly peopled. Two Tasmanian brothers, Edward and Stephen Henty, in 1834 set up a whale-fishing establishment at Portland Bay, which lies considerably west of Port Phillip. Here they acquired a large tract of land, and introduced sheep and cattle. About the same time a company was formed in Hobart Town under the name of 'The Port Phillip Association' to exploit the mainland across Bass's Straits, which sent John Batman, one of its ablest members (once a boy in the Parramatta Wesleyan Sunday School), to

survey the neighbourhood of Port Phillip with a view to occupation. Batman arrived on the ground in 1835, and his eye seized on the site of Melbourne as a suitable centre for the Company's operations, and 'the place for a village.' He trafficked with the natives, and claimed to have purchased from them for the Association half a million acres of land, at the price of twenty pairs of blankets, one hundred lbs. of flour, &c., &c., with the promise of a yearly supply of similar provisions in larger quantities. This ridiculous bargain, the original text of which may be seen in the Melbourne Public Library, is a specimen of the transactions imposed by the early European settlers on helpless savages in many a country. Batman's purchase was little respected by other colonists, and finally set aside by the Government; but the Port Phillip Company assumed the ownership of a huge area of land on the strength of it.

The Association was, however, forestalled by a shrewd Launceston innkeeper named John Pascoe Fawkner, who had come to Tasmania with Captain Collins in 1803. He quickly got together a select party, highly equipped, and dispatched them to the new country before the Hobart Association had completed its arrangements. Several of these engaged on the Launceston expedition were Methodists, and its members met at the Wesleyan chapel of that town on the evening before sailing, to seek a blessing on their adventure and to hear a sermon from John Manton. Fawkner was the first to erect a dwelling where Melbourne now stands. He secured land, and sowed corn; in a short time he built an excellent hotel, which he furnished with an uncommonly good library. An intelligent as well as an enterprising leader, he lived to be the father of the Victorian press. This 'rugged, honest, public-spirited man' was the founder of the city of Melbourne and the colony of Victoria. Henry Reed, who crossed from Tasmania with, or shortly after, Fawkner, with a view to benefiting the Aborigines, commenced his work upon this ground by gathering his companions together in one of Fawkner's sod-huts for prayer and the reading of Scripture. Before the end of that year the vanguard of Batman's company arrived, and settled amicably by the side of Fawkner's people. These first-comers were men of capacity and experience, who quickly made themselves at home; bringing tools and livestock and some amount of capital

with them, they readily got the land under tillage. In January, 1836, came John Gardiner, another emigration-leader, who had marched across from the Murrumbidgee plains in the north with a herd of cattle to this promised land. The older colonies had all at once waked up to the value of the region about Port Phillip.

Now the Government turned its attention to this community, which had sprung into sudden importance. A resident magistrate, civil officers, and soldiers arrived to assert the authority of the Crown ; with these a troop of convict labourers was furnished for employment by the farmers. In 1837 Governor Richard Bourke came to inspect the new district of the New South Wales province. He approved the choice of the site for Melbourne, and recognized the town officially as capital of the county created around it. In two years more the population, still mainly Tasmanian in origin, but beginning to be reinforced from England, had grown large enough to require a Lieutenant-Governor of its own ; the distance of 500 miles (by sea 600) separating Melbourne from Sydney rendered this arrangement the more necessary. An excellent appointment was made in the person of Charles Joseph Latrobe, who belonged to the famous Moravian family of that name. He continued in office for nearly twenty years, seeing the colony grow till it contained 400,000 people. He witnessed the creation in 1851 of Victoria¹ as an independent province by separation from New South Wales, and 'the gold-rush' which followed soon after, overwhelming the little state with a flood of immigration from almost every part of the world. Rarely has a founder of government anywhere entered on his duties in a finer spirit. In his first address, replying to the greetings of the Melbourne citizens, Governor Latrobe said :

I pray God, to whom I look for strength, that whether my stay amongst you, as the chief organ of Government, be long or short, I may be enabled through His grace to know my duty and to do my duty, diligently, temperately, and fearlessly. . . . It will not be by individual aggrandizement, or by the possession of numerous flocks and herds or of costly acres, that we shall secure for the country enduring prosperity and happiness, but by the acquisition and maintenance of sound religious and moral institutions, without which no country can be truly successful.

¹ The name 'Victoria' signaled the fact that the birth of the Colony synchronized with the beginning of the great Queen's reign.

The infant colony started its career under the best tutelage. Through its late beginning it escaped some of the mistakes made in New South Wales and Tasmania and benefited by their experience. The ecclesiastical question was scarcely raised here ; from the outset the Churches stood on an equal footing in the eye of the law. Complaints were made of Latrobe's administration during the outbreak of the gold-fever as wanting in firmness ; but Draper's biographer, an eye-witness of the events, declares that

few men deserve better of any community than Mr. Latrobe does of Victoria ; only those [he says] who were on the spot at the time can realize the difficulties of the position—it became simply impossible to do more than prevent universal anarchy.

Joseph Orton, to whom the Methodism of New South Wales and of Tasmania owes so much, was virtually the father of the Methodist Church in Victoria. Stationed at this time in Hobart Town, Orton accompanied John Batman on his migration to Melbourne in April, 1836 ; he was the first Methodist Preacher to land on the South Australian shores. His first sermons were preached under a tree on ' Batman's Hill,' in the morning and afternoon of the 24th of the month just named. For his audience he had the whole White population, numbering about fifty persons ; associated with these in the afternoon was an equal number of Natives on the outskirts of the circle, to whom the Preacher referred in a pointed and touching way. They behaved with the utmost decorum. Mr. Orton read the liturgy of the Church of England, the magistrate leading the responses and the doctor (a well-known Presbyterian) acting as precentor. The sermons—unforgettable to many of their hearers—were grounded on the fundamental texts, ' What shall I do to inherit eternal life ? ' and ' As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God.' Such was the beginning of the Methodist Church—of the Church of God itself—in Melbourne and Victoria. A regular Society was formed soon after, consisting of seven people¹ ; William Whitton, who settled here in 1837, was the chosen Leader. The nucleus rapidly developed with the enlargement of the community. Orton's chief purpose on this visit had been to

¹ Orton names in his journal a Mr. George Letty and Mr. J. Peers, along with Whitton, as members of the first Society.

prospect for the Mission in this district to the Aborigines.¹ His stay in the colony, therefore, was not prolonged, and he departed for Tasmania, commending the handful of Methodist believers to the grace of God and promising his best endeavours to obtain a pastor for them.

In 1838 the Methodist Society, meeting in Whitton's hut, had increased to the number of eighteen. On Sundays it enjoyed the hospitalities of Congregational or Presbyterian worship. Later in the year the Society received an important accession through the appointment of James Dredge and Edward Stone Parker as 'Protectors of the Aborigines' under Government. These gentlemen were efficient Local Preachers, and supplied the lack of a regular ministry. Their preaching proved popular, and morning service was held on Sunday at Whitton's house, while the Presbyterians lent their church to the Methodists for the afternoon. Ground was now secured for a chapel, which in a few months was built, at the cost of £250, raised on the spot—a small, plain edifice, but neat, substantial, and sufficient for the primitive congregation. Before this time a Sunday school had been opened for the children of the township. Meanwhile the Mission to the Aborigines had been commenced at Buntingdale, but its position had been fixed at a distance from the colony, in order to avoid White contamination. The two Missionaries engaged there could only make occasional visits to the Melbourne Society. Orton earnestly commended Melbourne to the Mission House in London, but for the present they could find no man for this post.

In the course of the year 1839 William Simpson was sent over from Launceston, to hold a month's mission and to examine the Society. He reported a membership of thirty, with two or three Local Preachers, a good chapel raised, holding a full congregation—the little place was crowded to suffocation when he preached. The population, living mostly in the near neighbourhood of Melbourne, within three years had mounted up to 2,000. The leading members of the church

evinced a patient, persevering, and laudable concern for the prosperity of the cause, and under their nurturing regard the Society and con-

¹ His guide and interpreter in communicating with the natives was William Buckley, a remarkable man who had escaped thirty years earlier from penal servitude in New South Wales and had lived all this while amongst the Blacks. His fellow countrymen came upon him on their first arrival at Port Phillip.

gregation not only maintained their position, but encouragingly progressed. . . . Their praise is in the mouths of their fellow townsmen of other denominations.

So much had been accomplished by lay effort and oversight alone. Simpson appealed to the Tasmanian Synod to occupy the place. To the Missionary Secretaries in England he wrote : ' I know not a fairer field for usefulness in any of our British settlements in this part of the world.' Dredge and Parker communicated the same impression to the Sydney Methodists. Every one of discernment who saw Melbourne in its early days augured a great future for the town.

Joseph Orton's much-needed furlough was now due ; his place was filled in Hobart, and he was on the point of sailing for England. The need of Melbourne was, however, so urgent that he consented to take charge of the Society here until Samuel Wilkinson, the Missionary to be transferred from New South Wales, should arrive. He found (in 1840) the population of the town multiplied to 3,000, and a Methodist Society in being, counted at 80 members, with 4 Class-leaders. The little chapel was overcrowded, and a larger edifice was in course of erection.¹ Orton's superintendency, which lasted the best part of a year, established a proper Methodist order ; his successor found a well-organized Circuit awaiting him. The former revered Minister then bade farewell to Melbourne and to Australia, thus closing, as it proved, his work on earth.

Samuel Wilkinson, after a year's good service, was replaced on this station by William Schofield, a most energetic and successful pioneer, removed hither from Sydney. The growing importance of Melbourne is indicated in the Stations of 1842 by the attachment to Schofield's name of the words, ' Another is requested.' Buntingdale and Melbourne are credited with 132 Church members, nearly all belonging to the latter Circuit. In the same year Dredge resigned his Protectorship of the Natives, through disagreement with Governmental methods of dealing with them. Schofield engaged him as hired Local Preacher at Geelong, the second town founded in the colony, occupying the western angle of the Bay of Port Phillip. Men of Dredge's zeal and talents, too old to enter the ministry or

¹ This was the chapel built in Collins Street, which for long remained the centre of Melbourne Methodism. The Government gave the site, on condition that £300 should be first raised towards the erection. The building was opened before Orton left, on June 24, 1841 ; Whitton and Simpson were the chief agents in its founding.

able to lay aside secular work only for a while, rendered invaluable service to the young Australian Church in this capacity during its shortage of Ministers. William Longbottom was designated in 1844 as Schofield's colleague, but never arrived, and Melbourne remained a single station. During the years of Schofield's superintendency the colony suffered, as communities of rapid growth are apt to do, a severe commercial depression, and its advance was checked for a time; but the work of the Gospel was little hindered. By the end of this Minister's term, in 1845, Portland (200 miles west of Melbourne) was ripe for the appointment of a Missionary, and promised £50, by way of beginning, toward his maintenance. None being available, William Whitton went from Melbourne as a substitute.

Sweetman, who succeeded Schofield, reported a membership close upon 400 in his first year, and reiterated the appeal for help from home.

The cause of God [he writes in 1847] is steadily advancing here; and the success of the means in operation makes us regret that our means are so few. How distressing [he continues, referring to the new list of stations] to see next to nothing done for this District! We have been looking for the *John Wesley*,¹ in expectation of a large reinforcement; and what is she about to bring us? *One man*—the shadow of a supply; a cargo of disappointment! According to the late accounts from the islands, her supplies will have to be consumed by the ghosts of those brethren who are falling prematurely through excessive labour. . . . If the North would give up her Ministers, the South would not keep back her converts, but would yield her sons from far and her daughters from the ends of the earth.

Sweetman's bitter cry breathes the anguish felt by many a Missionary overwhelmed by toil, who sees harvests waving that he cannot reap and golden opportunities passing beyond his power to grasp, while the reinforcements he has prayed and begged for proceed to other fields. The chagrin at Melbourne was the greater because everything had gone well in this Mission. There had been no failure in its leaders; they had a united and devoted people, and lived in general favour. A

¹ The mission ship employed at this time in the South Seas. She was announced as bringing a large party of new Missionaries, chiefly for New Zealand and Tonga. Sweetman alludes in the following sentence to reports of severe casualties in the Friendly Islands and Fiji; the results were happily less fatal than he foreboded. Australia temporarily suffered from the immense exertions the Missionary Society was making for the heathen of Tonga and Fiji.

larger church had been gathered in Melbourne through the labours of a single Missionary in seven years than in Sydney and the old colony during three times that period, and with a staff three or four times as large.

The Melbourne Quarterly Meeting of June, 1847, again asked for two—if possible, three—additional Missionaries to be sent to Australia Felix. At the same time it recommended for service two young men from its own ranks, viz. John Christian Symons and Robert C. Flockhart. The former, who commenced his probation in 1850, was a young Englishman of exceptional promise; he had taken part in the founding of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, and his abilities quickly attracted attention in the colonies. He did fine pioneer work for a few years later on the goldfields, and became a leader of the Australasian Church, to the Presidency of which he was raised in 1888. Symons possessed literary as well as practical and administrative gifts; his *Life of Daniel James Draper* is a well-written and instructive missionary biography. Flockhart, though not so distinguished as his companion, was of excellent spirit, and for many years took a leading part in the building of Colonial Methodism.¹ For the present these two candidates served the District as lay agents. William Lowe, a candidate from another colony, was sent to Melbourne as Sweetman's Assistant.² This worthy man was one of the Australian rank and file, who fulfilled a long course in the ministry and earned throughout 'a good degree.' By this time the Buntingdale Mission had been closed. Of its two Missionaries, Hurst was removed to New South Wales; Tuckfield, loath to abandon the Native work, remained a year or two longer at his own charges in Buntingdale, hoping beyond hope for some sign of fruit to his devoted labours; but he, too, was compelled to desist, and in 1848 took charge of the Circuit of Geelong. There were now three regular Ministers assigned to the Melbourne section of the New South Wales District.

In 1848 the Melbourne Quarterly Meeting raised the question of separation from New South Wales. Communication with Sydney, over 600 miles of sea, was difficult, uncertain, and

¹ Flockhart presided over the Conference of Victoria and Tasmania in 1885.

² The printed stations appearing in the *Minutes* for this period are widely discrepant from the facts. They record the prospective intentions of the Mission House as to the distribution of its agents, formed months in advance, which were subject to delays and modifications through local contingencies. Both Sweetman and Lowe, in the official Stations of 1847, are put down for Circuits remote from Melbourne.

expensive ; and attendance at Synods there was costly in time as well as money. Tasmania, thirteen years earlier, had become a separated District for the same reasons, when its Church membership was smaller than the newer colony now contained. The resolution presented on the subject insists on the care necessary in carrying out the intention which was already settled in principle :

That the contemplated separation of this District from the District of Sydney will probably require the presence of some influential representative on the part of the Methodist body to superintend and promote their interests during the change. . . . This meeting recommends that until the change shall have taken place the Rev. Mr. Sweetman be continued here as Superintendent.

(According to the *Minutes of Conference*, Sweetman had been transferred to Tasmania in the previous year.) At the request of the Melbourne Circuit, whose Quarterly Meeting was of exceptional weight for so young a Circuit, he remained in charge for two years longer. His removal to Launceston was delayed until the beginning of 1850, when William Butters replaced him in Melbourne. He left a Church membership of 512 in the three stations of Melbourne, Geelong, and Portland Bay.

The first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne was consecrated in 1848 ; with his coming the clerical staff of the diocese was raised from three to seven. Dr. Charles Berry, the appointed Bishop, showed himself a competent and fair-minded man ; and Melbourne was free from the Anglican overbearingness and intrigue which in some colonies injured so greatly the cause of religion. He wrote, soon after his elevation, in terms that well describe the qualifications needed in the Ministers for a new colony :

We must have men of more than ordinary zeal, and of patient, persevering diligence. We do not so much want men of highly cultivated minds and of deep learning as men of practical good sense and warm affections, men well versed in the English Bible . . . earnest and effective Preachers, and also diligent pastors of their flock.

The District status anticipated by Melbourne Methodism in 1848 was not actually secured until three years later. From 1845 onwards ' Australia and Van Diemen's Land ' had been

constituted, in point of form, a single 'District' under the direction of William Boyce. But the chief sections of this huge area held their separate Synods, and Butters, stationed at Melbourne, acted as Deputy-Chairman for Australia Felix. The first Synod, held in September, 1851, consisted, beside the Chairman, of Frederick Lewis, stationed at Geelong, William Lightbody at Portland, along with two probationers. These were John Harcourt, of colonial extraction, a steady, useful man, who assisted Butters in Melbourne, and Samuel Waterhouse, son of the late John Waterhouse, who was designated a 'Bush Missionary.' The last-named was a District Missioner, sent out to preach from homestead to homestead amongst the up-country settlers and squatters. For a few months Waterhouse was notably successful in this work, until the breaking out of the gold-fever sent the country people flocking wholesale to the diggings. Waterhouse followed his decamping flock; but the next Conference gave him orders for Fiji, the country for which he had originally volunteered. Failure of health drove Samuel Waterhouse back, in 1856, to the colonies, in whose Circuits he served acceptably for many years.

William Butters made a deep impression on the District at its inception. 'He brought out fully the connexional principle' of Methodism,

and indelibly marked the (Synod) proceedings with that breadth of view which characterized the whole of his subsequent administration. Thus was our ecclesiastical and financial policy fairly launched; every available precaution was taken for the conservation of the Societies and congregations already gathered; and due steps were taken for the extension of the work of God throughout the colony, which was being rapidly inundated by the rush from England.

Two additional Missionaries were asked for from home—a mere fraction of the reinforcements shortly to be required; no one foresaw the volume of the impending influx. At Butters' first Quarterly Meeting in April, 1850, after the example of Sydney, a 'Wesleyan Emigrants' Friend Society' had been formed, which was soon to find an overwhelming task incumbent upon it. Arrangements were made for one of the Ministers to visit each incoming vessel in order to seek out and befriend any Methodists on board.¹ The sad fact was in evidence that not a

¹ This kindness is now rendered by our Church systematically and with the utmost care at the Canadian ports. The neglect of immigrants to notify their arrival

tenth part of those who had been members of Society in England voluntarily reported themselves to the Ministers of their Church on landing in the colony.

When the full tide of gold-seekers set in the population of Victoria swelled like a hill-stream in spate. It rose in 1852 from 97,000 to 168,000 ; the next year saw 54,000 added to this total ; and the next after that 90,000 more—an increase of nearly 222 per cent. within three years ! It was a good providence for Australian Methodism that the crisis found at the head of its affairs men of wisdom and resource and of strong faith, like Boyce and Butters. The Church at Melbourne, moreover, rose to the emergency with admirable courage and self-sacrifice. Butters writes to the Missionary Committee in January, 1852 :

It is impossible to imagine the wild excitement which has been induced by the discovery of gold of 'surpassing richness,' and the effects which have followed in every department of our work. At the date of the discovery everything [in the Church] was in a healthy and flourishing condition. . . . But the gold has sadly disarranged our plans. Many of our members, and more than half our Local Preachers, are scattered over these extensive goldfields . . . there is manifest danger lest the all-absorbing subject of the day should turn aside their minds and hearts from things spiritual. . . . An immense population will soon be attracted to this place. About 1,000 persons arrived from Van Diemen's Land and Adelaide yesterday, and thousands more are coming.

At the Quarterly Meeting of September last (1851), held antecedently to the public reports about the gold-deposits, 'twelve of those present,' he states, had 'engaged to contribute or collect £5 each toward the passage and outfit of two Ministers from England, if they can be sent at once.' The altered circumstances 'increase the urgency of the case.' Butters goes on to say :

This Circuit ought to be divided into three, with two Preachers in Melbourne, one in Collingwood, and one at Brighton. . . . Then, at a distance of about eighty miles, is Mount Alexander, where there are between 20,000 and 30,000 persons digging, amongst whom are hundreds

is due, not only to the unsettlement of mind caused by the great dislocation and to shyness toward strangers in a strange land, but frequently to the uncertainty of incomers as to their future residence (they think they will make themselves known when they are settled !) ; in many instances also to the fact that the immigrants had in some way failed at home and fallen into reduced circumstances, and their pride dictated a wish to remain unknown.

of our members without any Wesleyan Minister, except as they are visited from Melbourne. The brethren felt the circumstances of these people so much as to determine that, although Melbourne itself needed additional help, yet it should send up one of its number [of Ministers] to devote his undivided attention to them.

Latrobe promised, on the Government's behalf, liberal grants in aid of the efforts made by the Churches to overtake the spiritual destitution of the goldfields, wisely declaring that

in his opinion no police agency or physical force of any kind could control the herds of men thronging to this area ; Ministers of religion to preach to the people, and schools for their children . . . could alone modify and control the violent passions of the digging population.

In consequence of the concerted measures taken by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities prompt provision was made for this necessity, and made in a degree which, if not fully adequate, was timely and effective. There has seldom been anywhere so sudden and large a congestion of population, containing so many dangerous elements, yet marked by so little of crime and civil disorder. This comparative exception was due to the strength of the moral and religious influences rapidly brought to bear on the situation.

Samuel Waterhouse was the first Preacher to appear on the scene at Mount Alexander. He prepared the way for others, but his removal left the field for a moment unoccupied. A successor appeared from an unexpected quarter. A large proportion of the male population of Adelaide had crossed the border to search for gold. The churches of South Australia were half-emptied, and the Preachers of that colony saw much of their occupation gone for the time. Promptly the Adelaide Superintendent, the sagacious Daniel Draper, directed his young colleague—John Christian Symons, formerly of Melbourne—to follow the trekkers to the goldfields. Symons' instructions were to seek out and keep together the South Australian Methodist diggers ; further, to collect funds for the derelict chapels of his District, some of which were desperately straitened through the removal of their supporters ; but chiefly to preach the Gospel at every opportunity, and save souls wherever he could in this needy field. He was expected to return to Adelaide in six months' time. Symons fulfilled his commission in every particular except the last ; instead of

returning in six months he remained in Victoria sixteen years. First reporting himself to Butters at Melbourne, he proceeded to Mount Alexander, where he pitched his tent (literally) right amongst the diggers, and became thoroughly conversant with their life. He made himself the friend and brother of the miners, throwing clerical conventions to the winds. He came upon a few Ministers who had joined in the gold-hunt ; others, living near by, paid visits to the mines. Symons was for a considerable time the only Protestant Minister resident on the spot, and devoted, on behalf of the wild and scrambling seekers of the soil's treasure, to Christ's 'one thing needful.' Later he was joined by a probationer from Tasmania, whose health, however, early gave way under the strain.

In March, 1852, Symons held his first public services on the goldfields. July of the same year witnessed the opening, on 'Wesley Hill,' of a slab-built, canvas-roofed chapel, which was reared by the hands of the Preacher and his miner friends. Butters visited from Melbourne as many of the gold-mine stations as he could, where he rallied around him Local Preachers and Class-leaders—some of them recalled to duty from backsliding—and setting them to work. Amongst the diggers were a number of Cornishmen fresh from England—next to the Irish immigrants these have been the most important lay propagators of Methodism in the colonies. They brought the Methodist fire with them to the new world ; their enthusiasm, united with their general consistent piety and their fearlessness, won a singular respect amongst the wild, reckless men who abounded at the diggings.

The Melbourne Chairman's letter we have quoted aroused the Missionary Committee at home. At the same time the English newspapers were full of the sensational doings in Victoria, and a lively interest in this field was awakened throughout the country. Secretary Osborn replied on behalf of the Mission House, promising four recruits to the Melbourne staff, to be sent without delay ; each of the four Secretaries wrote privately to Butters in terms of counsel and encouragement. This time, at any rate, Australian appeals were not to be disregarded. Three new men were almost immediately dispatched. Of these, Thomas Raston and Richard Hart had seen some service in Sierra Leone ; though disabled for the Western African work, they were qualified for vigorous toil in Australia. The

third was Isaac Harding, an excellent candidate of that year, who served the colony well for years to come. Other helpers were secured from neighbouring Districts ; and the Stations of 1852, as compared with those of 1851, show the number of Circuits in the Victoria section¹ of the District raised from three to six, of the Ministers from four to nine ; in 1853 the Circuits on the list are ten, and the Travelling Preachers thirteen. The Church membership at the latter date is registered at the figure of 1,190, being more than doubled in three years.

The distress of the poorer immigrants disembarked at Melbourne during the first rush was pitiable.

Multitudes are daily arriving, and what is their reception ? [asked a public speaker at the town's meeting called to consider the crisis]. They are landed in mud, and crammed to suffocation in uncomfortable abodes. Many, without shelter, without friends, and without money, find nothing before them but an early grave. They bring with them, perhaps, the savings of years ; but in a few days they are penniless ; and often is seen the poor emigrant's funeral, without a single mourner following him to the tomb.

Despair of mind and disease of body seized on the victims lured by the gleam of gold to the *El Dorado* of the South Seas, who found the bare necessities of life unprocurable amongst the swarms of fellow adventurers thronging the distracted port and speedily exhausting its limited provision in the way of lodging and food. With a view to meet the emergency a ' Wesleyan Immigrants' Home ' was quickly put up under Butters' leadership, which cost £4,000 to build, beside the price paid for the site. Of this sum £1,000 was contributed by the Government ; Methodist laymen came forward with large subscriptions. The institution was undenominational in its benefits ; but it was placed under the rules of management prescribing decency of behaviour and simple religious observances ; its use was restricted to the recently landed and homeless. Within the first five months of its existence the Immigrants' Home sheltered more than a thousand people in the sorest straits ; it was built to furnish 150 beds, and charged for its entertainment less than half the tariff-rates of respectable boarding-houses in the city. An additional hostel was

¹ The name of *Australia Felix* was now changed to *Victoria*

subsequently provided by Government, but the Wesleyan Church showed the way.¹

During the early months of gold-mining in Victoria the success of the diggers was astounding ; gold was brought into Melbourne by whole tons ! Business was hugely stimulated in the city ; profits and wages in all employments rose by leaps and bounds ; and men with the faculty of money-getting amassed large fortunes, though their wealth failed to command the comforts within reach of moderate means in a settled country. Methodists shared in the flood of prosperity, and showed themselves forward to give their Church the benefit of their advance in fortune. The years 1852 to 1854 saw Circuit debts wiped out, and church buildings multiplied in Melbourne and the neighbourhood. The cost of the erections of this period, owing to the inflated prices of labour and materials, was almost fabulous. At the Melbourne meeting held in May, 1853, in honour of the Rev. Robert Young, who was visiting the Australian Churches on deputation from the British Conference, a request was made on behalf of the colony for six additional Ministers, and the sum of £600 was promised on the spot, within a few moments, toward the expense of sending them.

By the year 1854 the gold-fever was declining. The accessible surface metal had been got, and the output came down to a quarter of its previous rate. General prices dropped to an approximately normal level. The amazingly successful diggers of the virgin fields had retired to enjoy their gains or to invest them in other directions ; intoxicated by success, not a few of these flung their riches away as quickly as they had won them—penniless they came to Australia, and penniless they left it. The reaction brought upon Melbourne a sharp commercial crisis, which involved many in poverty and distress. But the new townships that had sprung up in and around the goldfields remained a solid acquisition to the colony ; gold-mining became

¹ Bishop Berry, who worked hand-in-hand with Latrobe and Butters at this crisis, publicly said, in regretting the slowness with which Anglican machinery was brought to bear on the situation : ' Other bodies of Christians, the Wesleyans in particular, do succeed in making some, if not altogether an adequate, provision, even for such a population as that upon the goldfields of Victoria.' Every Church was put upon its mettle ; the Presbyterians especially took a large share in the spiritual results achieved under the immense stimulus given by the gold discovery to the Colony. At the present time, three-fourths of the population of Victoria are counted as Protestants ; about half of these are claimed by the Anglican Church, and something less than a fourth belong to the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches respectively.

a settled and still lucrative industry ; and the enormous capital which had been acquired from this source found outlets in agriculture and the setting up of manifold industries.

The activity of the Churches—Methodism being foremost amongst them in evangelical and philanthropic exertions—and the high principles, sustained on the whole by pure and efficient administration, that distinguished the Government of the country, prevented the demoralization apt to result from a sudden and great accession of wealth, which the influx of a swarm of hungry adventurers and undesirables from every quarter of the globe was calculated to aggravate in the highest degree. Victorian society, born out of the gold-fever, presented, it is true, features far from admirable. Mammon-worship and a coarse materialism asserted themselves ; the ostentation and vulgarity characteristic of the *nouveaux riches*, enhanced in Australia by the crudeness and want of restraint natural to the manners of a new colony, were sufficiently in evidence. Notwithstanding these excrescences and extravagances, the life of Melbourne and of the new State of Victoria showed a sound core. Religion was respected, moral principle was vindicated ; philanthropy flourished ; business integrity and a virtuous family life prevailed ; a high standard of public honour was set up ; and politics, if somewhat turbulent, were free from mercenary corruption and animated by a genuine patriotism. What is said here of Victoria is true of the Australian States throughout. The basis of a sound citizenship was created, and the foundations of the Commonwealth into which the colonies have coalesced were laid down in the first shaping of those States by high-principled men possessed of a sense of religious duty and responsibility to their fellows. So the country surmounted the moral dangers that threatened its infancy—dangers due to the sources from which, and the conditions under which, in the case of the two leading colonies, the original settlement was effected. This happy escape must be attributed largely, under God, to missionary influence, to the power exerted by the Gospel of Christ in the hearts and lives of the first generation of colonists.

The Missionary Committee, amidst its great difficulties and embarrassments, gave unstinted help to Melbourne, which was so strenuously helping itself in the hour of need and opportunity. The Missionary Society had a further motive for dealing

generously with Australia just now, in the fact that it was planning to set Methodism there upon its own feet ; its purpose was to devolve on the colonies, now that they were coming into their fortune, the prosecution not only of the missionary work within their own borders, but also in the vast heathen archipelago beyond. The larger the aid afforded them at this crisis the more would the Australian people be encouraged, and the better empowered to shoulder the burden it was intended to lay upon them. Seven new men were designated for the Victorian missionary staff in 1853, in answer to the appeal made through Robert Young. These were James Bickford,¹ who had given thirteen years of faithful labour to the West Indies and devoted the rest of his life to these colonies—he was placed in the Chair of the Australasian Conference in 1868 ; James S. Waugh, an Irish Preacher of fourteen years' standing, and a man of striking ability and wide usefulness, who held the office of Connexional Editor for a considerable period—raised to the Conference Chair in 1865, and a second time (when he had become Dr. Waugh) in 1881 ; William Poole Wells, who had 'endured hardness' previously in Newfoundland, and exercised a valued and popular ministry here at the other side of the world ; William Hill, transferred hither from Ceylon—'one of the most accomplished and scholarly of Ministers' ; Theophilus Taylor, 'a man of fine intellectual powers and a great pioneer worker,' who early finished his course.² Three of the above new-comers had seen foreign service elsewhere. Australia had the advantage of supplying a more healthful climate and a suitable sphere for men of talent and missionary zeal whose constitution was found unsuited to other fields of labour. The men now drafted to the colonies came out under the altered conditions involved in the formation of the Affiliated Conference. They were received, not as English Missionaries, but as 'Australian Ministers,' transferred from the direction and jurisdiction of the British Conference to the newly created authority, and no longer open to employment in English

¹ James Bickford's reminiscences and estimates of men and things, contained in the volume entitled *Christian Work in Australasia*, have been of much service to the present author. Bickford became a thorough Australian in sentiment and standpoint.

² This good man met his death under sad circumstances, being killed by a blow received from a prisoner whom he was visiting in gaol.

³ The names of the other two fellow voyagers with the above-mentioned scarcely appear on the Australian Stations. For some reason or other, they seem to have failed in probation.

Circuits. From this date recruits enlisted in Britain for the Australian ministry became strictly colonials, and took the new country for their home.

By the year 1855, when the Australasian Conference was constituted, the District of Victoria—or, rather (as it had been denominated for ten years), the Victorian section of the Australian District—had wonderfully expanded. The three Circuits which Butters in 1851 would have wished to see carved out of the one Circuit of Melbourne were now in existence, being known as ‘Melbourne West,’ ‘East,’ and ‘South.’ They employed six Ministers, one of these (the District Chairman) being put in charge of the Immigrants’ Home. Geelong Circuit had two Preachers; Portland but one, as formerly. The added Circuit stations included Brighton, Williamstown, Pentridge, Warramboul, and six distinct ‘Goldfield’ Stations, amongst which Ballarat makes its appearance—twenty Circuits in all, with seventeen regular Ministers assigned to them. The vacancies are filled up with a rich variety of promissory notes—‘One to be sent,’ ‘One requested,’ ‘One wanted,’ ‘One earnestly requested,’ ‘One expected from England.’ The harvest truly was great, and was crying on all hands for added labourers. The Church membership of the District stood at 1,955, while the adherents were reckoned at about ten times as many. Within five years the little Methodist Church of Victoria had multiplied by nearly fourfold, surpassing the unexampled rate of growth of the colonial population. In numbers the Victorian District of five years’ standing was not much behind the forty-years-old District of New South Wales. In the Goldfield Circuits alone there were 505 members of Society, 53 Local Preachers, 737 Sunday scholars, and over 4,000 attendants at Methodist public worship. But the Churches of this colony had an immense task before them in seeking to Christianize the heterogeneous multitude of people thrown upon their hands.

William Butters in 1855 exchanged places with Daniel J. Draper, who was transferred to Melbourne from Adelaide, becoming the first Chairman of the Victoria District under the new order. Butters had spent four strenuous years in Victoria, where he had witnessed and influentially assisted in a transformation among the most rapid and astonishing recorded in the history of any community. His energy and judgement,

his courageous faith and commanding personal influence, secured for the little Church he shepherded a leading spiritual part in the course of development through which the group of agricultural settlements at the head of Port Phillip grew into a populous mining and commercial province. Nowhere else has colonial life advanced at such a speed, and seldom has its advance taken place under better auspices ; in no other period or place has Methodism taken larger and swifter strides forward. To William Butters in chief is to be ascribed the success with which our Church met this most critical emergency. He was supported by a united Society in healthy spiritual condition, and by able and devoted colleagues.

At the same time the statesmanship of William Boyce, and the powers he possessed as General Superintendent to bring the resources of the Missionary Society to bear on the situation, counted for much in the result achieved at Melbourne. And the Mission House at home deserves credit for its promptitude in recognizing the opportunity, for its unstinted sympathy, and the speedy reinforcements supplied to the men at the front.

V

SOUTH AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The Australian Land Company—Methodist Colonists—Adelaide—William Longbottom and John Eggleston—A Conflict of Interests—Copper-mines—Accessions to the Church—Daniel J. Draper—The Pirie Street Church—A Set-back and Recovery—Returns of Membership in 1854. Western Australia—The Forerunners of the Missionary—Hardey and Clarkson—John Smithies at Perth—A lonely Station—Samuel Hardey—Statistics.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA in point of fact is Mid Australia ; for the Province of this name extends across the continent, the Northern Territory beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, which was reached by explorers from the south, having been assigned to its government. Between the two sections of the province stretches a vast waterless desert, crossed by the slender chain of the Overland Telegraph Line and the post track running beside it. The Northern Territory remains but little developed ; it numbers at the present time scarcely more than 7,000 White inhabitants. A single Methodist Minister works there, stationed at Palmerston, the chief town, situated on the coast, from which a railway runs 100 miles inland.

South Australia proper lies west of Victoria and New South Wales. Captain Flinders first explored its coast in 1802. Not till the year 1835 did its occupation commence, simultaneously with that of Australia Felix.¹ Four years earlier a ' South Australian Land Company ' had been formed in England, with a view to providing in the region about the Spencer and St. Vincent Gulfs new homes for struggling English folk. This enterprise was a first experiment in systematic colonization upon the lines laid down by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whose theories were afterwards applied, on a larger scale, to the settlement of New Zealand. The aforesaid company had the new country to itself. No private settlers were in the field ; the Natives were regarded as a negligible quantity, being

¹ Victoria.

scattered tribes of ill-armed nomads. With some difficulty, after much curtailment and modification of its plans, the company secured by Act of Parliament permission to proceed, and enlisted a body of emigrants suitable for its purposes. The promoters were viewy and romantic in some of their notions, expecting, as it would appear, to reproduce the English rural economy, with its system of landlords, tenant-farmers, and labourers, in the Australian fields ; but amongst them were men of liberal minds and high religious aims.

No offshoot from the United Kingdom owed more to religious sentiments and philanthropic motives than did this adventure, unless it be the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers to America in the *Mayflower*.

George Fife Angus, the Chairman of the S.A. Company, to whom the equipment and direction of the first expedition were due, wrote thus in his *Diary*, afterwards published, under date January 26, 1836 :

As far as is in my power, in the appointment of managers, officers, and men for the company, I have sought out and engaged those who fear God ; and when I could not do this, I took the next best. . . . I trust the present movement will lay the foundation of a new kingdom in truth and righteousness ; I pray that the power and influence put into my hands may be used for His glory and for the good of the people of South Australia.¹

The first contingent of settlers reaching the South Australian shores formed a complete contrast in character to those landed fifty years earlier in New South Wales. Their leaders, moreover, had the advantage of the lessons learnt through past experience of Australian colonization.

The superior emigrant company was conveyed in three vessels, the first to reach the rendezvous (on July 27, 1836) being the *Duke of York*, which sailed under a Methodist captain of the name of Morgan. On board this ship was Samuel Stephens,² manager of the company, a member of the same Church. On disembarking, the first act of the passengers was to kneel in thanksgiving to God for their safe voyage and happy

¹ See the interesting sketch of Methodism in South Australia by Dr. H. T. Burgess, in Colwell's *A Century in the Pacific* (C. H. Kelly), p. 302.

² This gentleman was the son of John Stephens, President of the British Conference in 1827, and the brother of John Rayner Stephens, the first Methodist Missionary to Stockholm.

arrival, the captain being their mouthpiece. Thus the great colony of South Australia, like that of Victoria, was consecrated at its inception by the prayer of faith. The three ships contained a large proportion of Methodists ; these appear to have already organized on the way out a little Society, with regular preaching and Sunday school. The managers' house, so soon as built, was used for Divine service ; and when the party shortly removed from their landing-place in Holdfast Bay, to the banks of the Torrens River, where they permanently settled and laid the foundations of Adelaide,¹ the spacious kitchen of Edward Stephens (Samuel's brother) became the Methodist meeting-place. Here the first stated Society in South Australia was formed on May 11, 1837. It consisted of fifteen members, with two Class-leaders, John C. White and Jacob Abbott, whose names are cherished with veneration to this day.*

Without waiting for ecclesiastical authority or pastoral oversight [the fifteen Methodist lay-folk] proceeded in as regular and orderly a fashion as though they had both. Their piety was nourished by their Class-meetings. They arranged for public services, prayer-meetings, and a Sunday school. They appointed officers, examined and accredited Local Preachers, fixed the times of collections and Church meetings, prepared a Plan, and told off one of their number for special work among the Aborigines (Burgess).

In fact, they constituted themselves a Church of Christ in the largest sense. The band of Methodist colonists, thrown upon a foreign shore at the ends of the earth, exhibited the English genius for self-help and self-government, for social organization in religious as in civil matters. Early Methodism developed in its people this faculty all over the world.

Three important negatives were laid down in the founding of the colony of South Australia : (1) It should never be a charge upon the mother country ; (2) it should never be saddled with a State Church ; (3) no convict settlement should be planted on its territory. From the beginning the community rested

¹ The city bears the name of good Queen Adelaide, wife of William IV.

* White had been a Local Preacher in London, and would have entered the ministry but for a breakdown in health. At a later period he gave himself up to religious work in the colonies, pursuing the life of a pioneer lay Missionary in 'the bush.' Abbot lived to be the patriarch of Adelaide Methodism. The two men, who had been close friends, after forty years of separation happened to meet on a Sacramental occasion in Adelaide, forty-four years to a day after their appointment to the joint leadership.

on a kind of municipal basis, which occasioned troublesome political friction ; but it was provided, like other colonies, with a Governor under appointment by the Crown. At the arrival of the first Governor, whose name was Hindmarsh, British rule was proclaimed, on December 28, 1836, and the Province of South Australia was formally constituted. Hindmarsh soon retired, to be succeeded in office by George Gawler, a man of Puritan simplicity and severity, who in 1841 was compelled to resign through refusing to admit Roman Catholics to equal religious rights with Protestants. Gawler's successor was Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey, already known as a daring Australian explorer, who here made his first essay in colonial administration. We have had occasion previously to refer to this eminent colonial statesman, and shall meet him again in the chapters relating to New Zealand and to South Africa. South Australia, like Victoria, offered to the Methodist Church a fair field, unencumbered by the Anglican prerogatives and official prejudices which in other colonies stood in her way at the beginning. To this freer opportunity may be traced the fact that in both these provinces, as also in Western Australia, Methodism holds to-day the second place amongst the Churches, coming next to the Church of England in the number of her adherents ; in South Australia the two Communions are almost upon an equality in point of numbers. Methodism may claim to be the mother Church of this important State ; she supplied the first organized Christian community in South Australia.

By the end of 1837 the Methodists were ready to build their chapel. A plot of land for the purpose had been staked out in Hindley Street ; trustees were appointed ; funds began to be collected, and the erection of the simple structure rapidly proceeded, Mrs. Stephens laying the foundation-stone. In the following March the building was opened, within twenty months of the first landing. Next month a third Local Preacher was appointed by the Society, who was charged to seek out the Natives in order for their salvation. Nothing exhibits the Methodist character and apostolic succession of the self-sown Church so distinctly as this act of missionary consecration. The impulse was noble, however poorly furnished the selected agent, and however scanty the success achieved. The first minute-book of the Adelaide Society

Meeting is extant, and its closing entry, dated July 2, 1838, gives order for making a quarterly collection in aid of Church funds and for the payment of Class-money to the Local Treasurer. The meeting protests against an injurious letter written by a recent preacher in the chapel to the Adelaide newspaper (for this precocious community had already its public Press!), and directs the publication of its censure; it offers, moreover, a reward for the detection of the mischievous person who had broken the chapel window during worship on a recent Sunday. The little company of Methodists, bravely flying its flag in the new country, did not miss the blessing promised by Christ to the persecuted.

Fightings *within* proved, however, more dangerous than foes *without*. Thrown on its own resources, the energetic Society, after some twelve months' existence, counted 60 Church members, officered by 7 Leaders and 6 Local Preachers, with about 100 Sunday scholars. It now felt the need of a single directing head, especially as an Anglican Clergyman and a Congregational Minister¹ had by this time settled in the colony, and were gathering their flocks about them. Having in its ranks no one man of outstanding spiritual mark, the Society resolved to elect a Superintendent to act quarter by quarter. A regular Circuit Plan was then drawn up and published. But the rotary superintendency gave rise to agitation as to 'who should be greatest'; the peace of the Society was broken and its progress arrested. A welcome solution speedily came to this difficulty. 'We could not get on,' said old Father Collins in after days—one of the earliest Adelaide Methodists—'for we could not agree who should be Superintendent; but God pitied us, and sent us a Minister by wrecking one upon our coasts.' Earnest and pointed prayer on this behalf was being offered when William Longbottom suddenly appeared on the scene, as if God-sent. This devoted and able Minister, driven by sickness from India after five years' service (1829-34), had recruited his health at Cape Town and returned to the Indian field; but he broke down a second time, and was then transferred to Australia. The British Conference directed him to commence the Swan River Mission, in Western Australia; and he was voyaging thither from

¹ The Minister of the Congregational church, formed in 1837, was T. Q. Stowe, 'a never-to-be-forgotten and eloquent pioneer.'

Sydney with his family when his vessel, through bad seamanship, ran ashore in Encounter Bay, some distance to the east of Adelaide. The shipwrecked party, after much hazard and hardship,¹ at last reached the colony, where the rescued Minister was received almost as an angel from heaven. The Society provided for Longbottom's necessities, and Stephens sheltered the family in his own house. His enfeebled health, shaken by the recent exposure, made Adelaide a welcome haven to the infirm man, who was overjoyed to find, as he reported to England, 'a Church well organized and prosperous, with a substantial place of worship, almost in the wilderness.' The people on the spot would not hear of Longbottom's leaving them, as his coming had been so manifestly providential for them, and he was unfit to risk another voyage. The Missionary authorities acquiesced in his remaining, especially as 'there was a promise of usefulness among the Aborigines'; a substitute was found for Swan River after some delay.

The Adelaide Methodists quickly recognized the treasure thrown into their lap in the shipwrecked man. Longbottom was an attractive and telling preacher, and a most endearing pastor. Though his condition of health forbade his making distant journeys, he organized the Circuit well, and every one was willing to be at his orders. The Hindley Street Church soon proved too strait, and the Society set about to rear a larger, the Stephens family furnishing a site in Gawler Place.² The new edifice, which cost £2,000, was opened in July, 1839; the South Australian Methodists have never allowed 'the grass to grow under their feet.' This expenditure went, however, beyond the people's strength, and the chapel remained for long encumbered with debt. It housed the church passably well until it was superseded in 1851 by the present Pirie Street sanctuary.

¹ The crew and passengers of the *Fanny*, a 25-ton brig, in which Longbottom sailed, were stranded with a good supply of provisions, but without chart or compass, and knew not how to move. For a month they wandered among the sandhills, when they encountered another shipwrecked party, which had lost its provisions but saved its nautical instruments! Through this good Providence both ships' companies were saved. By mutual assistance they struggled to a whaling-station in Encounter Bay, the natives on the way proving friendly and helping them with food. From this point one of the captains walked to Adelaide to secure help. The Methodists there, hearing of Longbottom's plight, at once chartered a vessel which brought all the travellers to port.

² The older building was purchased for the Baptists by a Mr. McLaren, father of the illustrious Alexander McLaren of Manchester, who was the second Colonial manager of the South Australian Company. Thus the Hindley Street Chapel served as the cradle of two Colonial Churches in turn.

After a manful struggle with declining health, Longbottom was compelled, by the year 1840, to seek an easier sphere in Tasmania. The two years of his ministry in South Australia were epoch-making. He had brought peace and contentment, with good discipline, to a distracted Society. He had gathered a relatively large congregation in the city, had seen a commodious chapel built, and gathered a Church around him of more than a hundred members. While unable to itinerate far from the capital, he had directed the labours of a zealous band of Local Preachers, who carried the Gospel to the borders of this rapidly extending colony. He had formed on the basis of the independent Society he found at Adelaide a widespread and vigorous Circuit in loyal connexion with the Wesleyan Church, which was penetrating the whole life of the province. 'Seldom,' it was said, 'have pastor and people parted with greater and more sincere regard for one another' than did William Longbottom and his flock at Adelaide. Five years afterwards, when the church was again in difficulties, he returned to this beloved spot at the people's request, and restored them to tranquillity. But his health was now quite shattered, and a year later he became a supernumerary. He lingered out his remaining days (till 1849) at Adelaide, amongst friends who tenderly waited on his needs.

In John Eggleston, Longbottom's successor, the Adelaide Circuit found a vigorous and enthusiastic young leader, respected by all classes of the people. The Society flourished and multiplied, and a revival took place, through which many souls were saved and the spirit of religion was deepened in the colony; a local Auxiliary of the Missionary Society was formed. But in less than two years Eggleston's health succumbed. The effects of his excessive toil were aggravated by a season of abnormal heat, and by the unhealthiness of the residence assigned him—an improvement upon Longbottom's hut, but still far from suitable.¹

Eggleston's brief career marked another stride in the advance of South Australian Methodism. He left behind him a Church of nearly 300 members, and a Circuit Plan embracing more than

¹ In point of house provision the Adelaide Methodists failed toward their pastor—housing in the Colony generally must have been at this early date rude enough. The manse was little more than an incommodious, insanitary hut. Eggleston's health failed from this cause, as Longbottom's had done before him, and the people suffered through the tribulation of their ministers.

30 preaching-places, with four or five chapels, served by about 25 Local Preachers, beside Exhorters. This was the high-water mark of Methodism in the colony for some time.

The next incumbent of the Adelaide superintendency was less happy in his appointment. This was John C. Weatherstone, a man of some excellent qualities and much missionary zeal, but who failed to suit the colonial temper. He wrote on his arrival in an apprehensive tone :

Both my predecessors have fallen in harness, and been obliged to leave ; and if a man had an iron constitution it would be worn out. There are 6,000 inhabitants.

He believed that God called him to seek the salvation of the despised and despaired-of Natives, while the colonists at Adelaide claimed his whole attention. With uncommon industry he had compiled a vocabulary of nearly 1,000 words in the vernacular of the Murray River Blacks, and he begged to be set apart to labour amongst these tribes, whose confidence he seems to have gained. But at that time no Missionary could be spared for such work, though this was the prime objective of the Missionary Society and from the commencement had been cherished by the Australian Mission. Colonial demand thrust the case of the Aborigines into the background, and the attempts made to evangelize this hapless people had so far proved dismal and costly failures. In every one's thoughts, ' Australians ' had come to mean not the indigenous people, but the British usurpers. Weatherstone's heart was with the Natives ; it appears to have been for this reason that his ministry to the settlers miscarried—if it was not actually neglected. The people fell away from him, and with a depleted congregation the debt on the Gawler Place Chapel became a crippling burden. A large secession took place, carrying away some of the most active members, whose attachment to the Church had probably been a matter of affection toward the earlier Ministers more than of principle. The seceders formed an ' Australian Methodist Society ' of their own, reviving the independency which existed before the coming of William Longbottom. Bankruptcy threatened the Circuit, the income of which for the quarter ending June, 1844, was absolutely *nil*, the entire expenditure being debited to the Missionary Society ! Poor Weatherstone could remain no longer ; he withdrew to

Sydney, and soon returned disheartened to England, retiring from the ministry at the Conference of 1845, to which he seems to have been lost because he might not follow his proper bent.

Minister and people both made their report of the rupture to head quarters. The Chairman of the District, unable to visit the spot from Sydney, was completely at a loss. In the other colonies the South Australians bore the reputation of being restless and headstrong. This estimate, says Symons, Daniel Draper's biographer, who knew them well, 'was erroneous, resulting from want of knowledge. . . . The Society in general were a warmhearted, earnest, and generous people. . . . They only needed a leader.' He puts down the quarrels of 1842 to 1844 mainly to mismanagement during that period, and partly to the ill-health of Longbottom and Eggleston in previous years, in consequence of which Circuit affairs from the beginning had been somewhat out of hand, and the energetic laymen had become too much of a law to themselves.

At the very moment when South Australian affairs were under discussion in Sydney, Longbottom arrived there on his removal from Tasmania to take up work in the mother Circuit. On the appeal of the Chairman, M'Kenny, he consented to return to the distracted church of Adelaide.

A wiser arrangement [writes Symons] could not have been adopted. Intimately acquainted with the place, the people, and their former history, Mr. Longbottom was well qualified to secure the confidence of those who remained behind, while his conciliatory spirit, together with his earlier connexion with them, enabled him to place himself in friendly communication with those who had withdrawn, and to seek their reunion with the Church.

Under the winning influence of their old pastor most of the seceders returned to the fold. The broken ties were reknit ; the empty churches began to fill once more ; and both spiritual and financial prosperity were restored. But the effects of the disruption never quite disappeared. William Longbottom had saved South Australian Methodism, his own child in the Gospel.

While the above crisis was taking place in the Church, the fortunes of the colony entered on a new phase through the opening of the copper-mines. The metal was first discovered in 1842. Three years later extensive mining operations began

upon the deposits at Burra Burra, which proved to be of extraordinary richness. Immigrant miners poured into the colony at such a rate that its population was trebled within the next seven years. Though not so rapid as that which overwhelmed Melbourne a little later, nor containing elements so various and difficult to deal with, the influx was wholly unexpected ; it gave a fresh importance and an altered character to this agricultural outpost of the colonies. Fortunately unity and confidence had been restored in the Church when the revolution came about, so that the Methodist congregations and Societies were prepared to offer a hearty welcome to the new-comers. At this juncture, too, William Boyce was at hand, armed, as General Superintendent, with power to take prompt action. He quickly grasped the situation, and recognized that South Australia demanded the strongest and ablest missionary leader he could find. His choice fell upon Daniel James Draper, his second in command at Sydney. It meant a sacrifice both for Draper himself and for the work in New South Wales to remove him just then ; but, on the presentation of the case, he readily volunteered, and by September, 1846, was found established, with his wife and child, at Adelaide.¹ (Longbottom, as stated above, was now 'sitting down,' in consequence of the final failure of his health, so long precarious.) In prospect of the great extension of the work an energetic young colleague was provided for the new Superintendent in the person of John Harcourt. The house in which Eggleston sickened had been condemned as unfit for occupation, and a decent and commodious manse was built by the exertions of the people. Draper was well received, and showed himself at once the right man in the right place.

A new cause of contention arose at this time which but for Draper's judicious handling might again have rent the Church. A Colonial Act of Council had been recently passed empowering the Government, on application from any duly qualified Minister of religion, to make a grant in aid of his church proportionate to the number of sittings regularly occupied in its place of worship, subject to deduction for unlet sittings ; a maximum limit was fixed to the total sum available for such distribution. Small bounties were also offered from the

¹ According to the *Minutes*, Draper remained at Sydney and Jonathan Innes was sent to Adelaide. But the list of Foreign Stations there printed was in those times recognized as provisional, and subject to local alterations.

colonial treasury to promote the erection of churches and parsonages. The public authorities were concerned at the religious dearth of the colony, and sensible of the injuries to the State resulting therefrom; they desired to encourage the several churches already at work, hampered as they were by poverty, in their efforts to meet the people's wants. Previously to the passing of this remarkable Act the hard-pressed trustees of Gawler Street Chapel had approached Governor Grey with a petition for help toward liquidating the debt upon that fabric, and toward meeting the current expense of 'supporting the ordinances of religion' in the colony. To this application a friendly reply was made, intimating that 'the subject was under consideration'; the aforesaid Act of Council was taken to be a response to this and similar appeals from the struggling infant churches of the province. Draper found the plan of all-round subsidies already in operation, and the Methodist Societies availing themselves of the benefit. He found also a minority of his Church stubbornly opposed to State dependence and fixed in Nonconformist principles. He adopted an impartial attitude, regarding the point at issue as a matter of politics lying outside of Methodist law and usage. The Trustees and the people, he said, must act upon their own judgement, guided by local necessities and sentiments. The subject was repeatedly discussed in the Adelaide Quarterly Meeting, always with the same result—that a large majority accepted the proffered kindness, especially for the benefit of outlying and wholly destitute settlements, while the minority condemned the transaction, and the three Ministers (Draper, Harcourt, and Longbottom) held themselves neutral. The Quarterly Meeting of October, 1848, closed the discussion, argument being now more than exhausted, and a hurtful agitation kept up through the Societies. The Church in the end lost more through this cause than the disputed doles were worth. It was a relief when, at the close of 1851, after a heated political contest turning largely on this question, the Legislature discontinued the ecclesiastical grants-in-aid.

The discontent of the radical Methodist minority culminated early in that year at certain meetings held to denounce the pecuniary connexion of Church and State, when disgraceful imputations were made against the Wesleyan Ministers. Amongst the offenders were three Local Preachers, who, on

being called to account for the slander and put on trial before the Local Preachers' Meeting, were found guilty, by the unanimous vote of their fellows, including some who shared their views about the obnoxious grants, and suspended from office. The condemned men remained impenitent; but the Society as a whole rallied to the defence of its Ministers, who bore themselves with patience and moderation. The painful episode passed over with little permanent injury to Methodism. Reflecting on this period, Draper's biographer writes:

While the grant was offered to all, without any claim on the part of the Government to interfere in Church arrangements, he used it wisely and well,¹

while he anticipated that the disbursement would before long be 'withdrawn from all denominations' and fully acquiesced in its cessation. He regarded it as an emergency measure, of disputable policy, with which the Church did well to concur for the time. Symons pronounces that 'the just meed of sagacity, disinterestedness, and zeal must be awarded' to his hero, and that 'the present position of Methodism in South Australia (in 1870) is largely due to the wise and firm course which Mr. Draper then pursued.'

At the census of 1846 the population was found to be 22,390, of which number more than a tenth registered themselves as Methodists in religion, the Church membership being then about 300. Out of its small constituency the Adelaide church provided nearly thirty Local Preachers—an uncommonly large proportion, and some of them exceptionally able and enterprising men. South Australian Methodism has been peculiarly strong in this arm of service. The Superintendent required all the help he could muster to fill his multiplying pulpits. At the mining towns of Kapunda and Burra Burra, lying fifty and one hundred miles distant respectively from head quarters, large congregations were to be gathered; the people suffered 'a famine of hearing the words of the Lord.' When the first Wesleyan chapel was opened in 1847 at the latter spot, amongst the population of 1,500 brought together

¹ For the year 1847 Draper reports the grant as amounting to £224, 'which for the present,' he says, 'is devoted to the buildings in the interior.' Such a contribution was welcome to the Missionary Society in its desperate endeavour to cope with the inrush occasioned by the opening of the Burra Burra copper-mines, with local plant utterly insufficient. The question of Government grants to the philanthropic work of the Society raised a similar storm in Canada about this time.

within two years there was no other place of Christian worship within seventy miles. Cornishmen familiar with Methodist ordinances swarmed in the new population; these furnished valuable helpers in the shape of Class-leaders and Local Preachers. Draper and Harcourt, who made incessant journeys at this time with heavy toil and hardship, were successful in winning the attachment of the miners, and saw happy conversions amongst them. In 1848 the Circuit secured a third Minister, posted at 'the North Mines.' This was John C. Thrum, a young man enlisted in New South Wales and drafted to this District, who was esteemed for his 'moral worth and excellent character, both as a man and a preacher.' His course was cut short in its early promise; within a year of coming to the North Mines he fell grievously ill, and was compelled to retire from the work.

The Church was now receiving constant accessions; in the *Minutes* of 1849 it is credited with 551 members. The one Circuit was divided into three, and in the following year into four, Willunga—twenty miles south of Adelaide—figuring as a Circuit centre along with Burra Burra and Kapunda. Corresponding additions, for which local maintenance was forthcoming, were made to the ministerial staff.

The disabled Thrum was succeeded at Burra Burra by William Lowe, who has been noticed in the previous chapter. Harcourt was transferred to Victoria; William C. Currey and John C. Symons—both locally accepted candidates—were sent to Draper's assistance in 1849. About this time he laid hands upon a young Preacher of exceptional power named Joseph Dare, who had lately arrived from England bearing a hearty recommendation from his home Minister. Bickford's prediction, made in 1858, that Dare would become 'the Robert Newton of the Australian Church,' fell not far short of fulfilment. Before long Dare entered the ministry, where he attained a great and well-used popularity. The same Quarterly Meeting which endorsed Dare's employment as hired Local Preacher welcomed to the Circuit a new Minister of rare worth and ripe experience in the person of Thomas T. N. Hull, who came to be regarded by many as the ablest Minister with which the Australian Church had been favoured. Those who knew him speak of 'his logical acumen, refined taste, exalted eloquence, and impressive appeals. . . . He walked with God,

and drew men thither too.' This addition brought the South Australian staff up to the number of five (not including Dare). Hull had laboured in the Irish ministry for eleven years, when in 1837 he devoted himself to the Mission Field. He was stationed successively in the West Indies, Malta, and Gibraltar before his appointment to Adelaide. Here he 'travelled' for four fruitful years, then for a year at Sydney. The death of his wife on the latter station led to his returning home to Ireland, where he fulfilled a further term of ministry and survived to a patriarchal age, dying in the year 1903.

Draper sent to the Missionary Committee an interesting report in December, 1849; he writes:

Our chapels are all too small by half. Building is very expensive, and it distracts me as to how the wants of the places are to be met.

There is an immediate necessity, he judges, for the outlay of 'at least £5,000 in chapel building within five miles of Adelaide.' This perpetual drain upon our people for chapels and the settlement of new Preachers in different places 'prevents' our raising money for purposes beyond the colonies.¹ He describes enlargement recently made in several of the colonial chapels, which had already proved inadequate. But the need for a roomy and central chapel in Adelaide itself was that which weighed most upon Draper's mind. The Mission was cramped and disadvantaged sorely by the narrowness and the unfavourable situation of the Gawler Place premises, which even now were not clear of debt.

Nevertheless, Draper resolved on having a new church, adequate to the necessities and prospects of Methodism in the city. 'Few men would have had the courage to attempt' this enterprise; fewer still the 'indomitable energy and earnest care' necessary for its execution. According to tradition, the project originated in this way:

Walking to and fro in his study conversing with his most trusted friend, who afterwards became the G.O.M. of the Methodist laity, Mr. Draper exclaimed, 'John Colton, we want a new chapel; we must have a new chapel. I'll give £100, if you will give £100!' Mr. Colton's laconic response was, 'Done!' (Burgess).

¹ Despite this straitness, the Adelaide laymen had just given a farewell breakfast to John Waterhouse, setting out on his missionary voyage round the South Sea Islands, at which £66 *per annum* was promised for five years in aid of his work.

In such a case 'Well begun is half done.' The older chapels were rude and inelegant structures, calculated simply to hold as many people as possible for as little cost. Draper determined that the future house of God, while built with jealous economy, should have something 'magnificent' about it, that in style and aspect it should be worthy of the city itself and of the commanding site secured for it, and should embody the higher tastes and aspirations of the growing Church, inaugurating a new order of things in the Methodism of the colony. Plans were at once drawn up with this object in view, and collectors set to work. The Ministers were all eager promoters of the scheme; the sympathy and united strength of the friends of Methodism throughout the colony were engaged for its accomplishment. The first stone was laid by Governor Young in July, 1850, and fourteen months later the church was opened, when it had cost £6,200 in the erection. Much was spent upon the edifice later, both in the way of internal improvements and external additions, until a noble pile was completed in Pirie Street, which has been the cathedral of South Australian Methodism and the rallying-place of its people ever since. 'No other ecclesiastical edifice in Adelaide,' says Burgess, 'has had so much effect' on the better life of the community; 'a host of religious, charitable, and philanthropic movements has there received impetus; and a multitude which no man can number have been converted to God.' It should be remembered that 'this luminous record began within fourteen years of the time when Adelaide was an unsurveyed, gum-tree-covered plateau.' The Pirie Street Church is Daniel Draper's monument.

This great task had scarcely been completed, and the money-debt it entailed was far from being discharged, when the colony received a shock, through the gold-discoveries in Victoria, which for the time completely unhinged its affairs. Who would not exchange *copper* for *gold*? There was a stampede of the miners; indeed, the intoxication—the *auri sacra fames*—seized all ranks of society. Within three months of the announcement that a ton of gold had been dispatched from Mount Alexander, 15,000 men (leaving their families behind) had quitted South Australia for the goldfields—nearly a fourth of the population. In some settlements a man became such a rarity that, when he passed through, the children came out to gaze at him! The

streets of Adelaide were empty, its houses abandoned, and property became unmarketable.

Ruin stared every one in the face. Whether the migration would be temporary, or whether the people would return to settle in South Australia, none could tell.

At a stroke the churches became derelict ; ‘ trustees, Local Preachers, Leaders, members ’—the male constituency of Methodism—had vanished ! With the disappearance of the men of the colony, and of the capital they carried with them, the church-income for all purposes was cut off. Draper remained almost alone, to bear the liabilities resting upon Methodism. ‘ Moneys which had been lent upon promissory notes to the trustees ’ of church property ‘ were called in on every hand ’ ; to replace them by fresh loans was impossible, and the help he might count upon was distant. ‘ Buoyant and hopeful though Draper usually was,’ this experience ‘ almost crushed him.’ The pages of his diary for those black months are torn out. Fortunately he had Boyce behind him at Sydney, who relieved the pressure, so soon as communications reached him, by an advance from the Missionary Fund ; his action was in due time endorsed and reinforced by the Committee at home.

However distressed and anxious he felt, the man of God maintained a calm demeanour which sensibly helped to avert the imminent panic. A singular incident of the crisis shows how much depended upon Draper at this extraordinary juncture. He happened to have to sign a large cheque in payment on account of the Pirie Street Chapel at a moment when his hand was unsteady through the exertion undergone in some severe piece of manual labour. The manager of the bank under whose eye the document passed was struck by the tremor in the handwriting, and sent a message asking Mr. Draper to call upon him. Draper came, in fear lest his cheque was going to be dishonoured, when the man of money expressed his concern at the change apparent in his client’s signature.

I fear [he said] you are getting nervous and anxious. Now this will never do ; it is to persons like yourself that we look in this time of difficulty. *You* must not give way ; and I have sent for you to say that you shall have any accommodation you may want.

This was a discerning friend and a wise man. The same bank-manager hit upon a bold and skilful financial expedient, which averted monetary shipwreck from the colony. Before the middle of 1852 the commercial crisis was over. The South Australian miners were amongst the first at work on the gold-fields, and the most expert of diggers. Some returned early with rich gains ; others sent home large remittances ; a stream of gold poured into the impoverished colony, and its depleted population was by degrees restored.

During the time of exodus it was impossible to make any accurate reckoning of Church membership, for no one could tell how long the gold-seekers might be absent, or how many of them might find permanent employment in the new mining centres. For the time all arrangements in the South Australian Circuits were provisional ; the places of the adventurers remained vacant in the hope of their return. Many reported themselves by letter as meeting regularly in Class, though they saw no Minister and received no Quarterly Ticket. The godly Methodists left behind in South Australia were naturally fearful as to the spiritual effect of the dislocation ; moral unsettlement was too likely to result from the sudden acquisition of wealth and the handling of gold by men accustomed to a scanty and rough livelihood. Their utmost efforts were put forth to counteract dangers, and with a success beyond hope. Rarely have any body of men under conditions of such trial suffered so little demoralization. ' Happily,' writes Symons,

the fears of Mr. Draper and others were not realized. . . . By the grace of God the great bulk of Christians were preserved faithful, and as the excitement and novelty of their new circumstances wore away, they recovered to the full their tone of piety and their disposition for usefulness. . . . Every Wesleyan Minister remained faithful to his work, notwithstanding the attractions presented all round by the gold discoveries. . . . The Missionary Committee wrote specially urging us not to forsake our work—a thought of which I am persuaded never entered the head of any one of us until we received that communication !

Symons was the best witness to this fidelity, for he was the young Minister dispatched by Draper from Adelaide to look after the Methodist diggers at the gold-mines. His discharge of this Mission, and its fruitful results, we have touched upon in the last chapter. One of the objects with which Symons went to the Victorian mines was to keep the South Australians

in touch with the Churches left behind, and to gather contributions from them, since they were coming into command of money, in order to save the Society funds and chapel trusts which in consequence of their withdrawal were threatened with actual bankruptcy. The hearty response made to this appeal by the miners on the field formed a link which helped to secure the fidelity to Christ and their Church of men who were assailed by fierce temptations.

In 1853, when colonial affairs had fallen into a more settled course in the altered channels, Draper takes a cheerful outlook on the future of South Australia :

I imagine [he writes at this date] we have many of the advantages of the gold-bearing colonies, without many of the disadvantages. . . . We may safely launch out a little in our endeavours. I was never greatly deficient in confidence as to what the colonies could do, and now, I fear, I should be almost reckless, were I in a position in which my *depraved* chapel-building propensities were brought into play.

When, a year later, South Australia was constituted a separate District, with Draper as Chairman, he reported the Church membership as having all but overtaken the record made before the rush to the goldfields. The figure given in the *Minutes* for 1854 is 1,066 ; there are 7 Circuits in the District (Adelaide being divided into ' North ' and ' South '), and still only 6 Ministers—3 stations appear to be occupied by lay agents. The large accessions to membership gained in the Victoria District during the three years just elapsed included a goodly contingent transferred from South Australia. ' If we can get two or three more Missionaries,' the Chairman observes, ' I shall not fear as to results.' He reports as many as a dozen new churches in building, or about to be built, on the area of the District. Pirie Street Chapel is to be provided with galleries ; the erection of a second chapel in the city, of equal dimensions, is immediately contemplated. The large additional plant that is being created could not be paid for all at once ; but the constant growth of the congregations made enlargement imperative, and the resources of the Church, present and prospective, warrant these projects and the heavy expenditure they entail. ' We do not use the term *debt*,' writes Draper, ' in relation to our chapels as implying a permanent burden, but simply an *unliquidated balance*, to be reduced every year by at least

20 per cent. All our places, with very few exceptions, are too small, and the population of the colony is rapidly increasing.' These bold undertakings, carried on in all directions, were justified by their results. Though few in numbers, the Society forming at this time but 13 per cent. of the population (the proportion of 'adherents' must have been relatively large), the Methodists of the colony were loyal and liberal. They gave their leader an enthusiastic support, and they felt an honourable pride in the maintenance of their religious institutions. No section of the wide Australian field was more ready to take its part in the duties of Connexional independence; the newly created District displayed both resources for self-support and abilities for self-government.

At the close of 1854, when the Australasian Conference was about to be formed, Daniel Draper sought a removal from this colony, which he had served so efficiently for eight years. He was removed to Melbourne, and William Butters took his place at Adelaide. Two more colonial-bred Ministers were added to the staff in 1853—John Gane Millard, translated from New South Wales, a probationer of two years' standing; and Robert C. Flockhart, who has been previously named. Both these young men lived to devote many years of good service to the Australian Churches. Amongst the seniors of the District, Thomas Williams a year later replaced Thomas T. N. Hull, who had been drafted to Sydney. Williams spent his first twelve years of missionary life (1839–51) in Fiji, and will come into view when we reach that interesting field. He brought great strength and wisdom to the guidance of the swift-growing Methodism of South Australia. 'The labours of brothers Williams and Dare in the Adelaide South Circuit,' writes their chief, 'have been much honoured, and the Circuit is in a very healthy and prosperous state.' Another tried Missionary entered this field at the same time, viz. Matthew Wilson, who had seen nearly twenty years' service in Samoa and the Friendly Islands. With the institution of the Affiliated Conference an adequate ministerial staff was at last supplied to South Australia. The *Minutes* for 1855 show twelve Ministers in the field (occupying nine Circuits), in place of six.

South Australia contributed to the newly formed Conference 1,506 Church members (with 226 on trial), nearly quadrupling the figure of seven years earlier; 2,727 Sunday scholars under

regular instruction ; 39 chapels, and 38 other preaching-places ; 106 Local Preachers ; 9,380 adherents, constituting over a ninth of the population of that date. The subsequent period saw a great advance upon these figures, and a growth of the Church in numbers and influence by virtue of which it overtook the progress of the colony and became a chief factor in its religious and social welfare. The foundations for this upbuilding were substantially and soundly laid, under the administration of Daniel James Draper, the wise master-builder of Methodism in South Australia.

The story of Wesleyan Missions in WESTERN AUSTRALIA, up to the year 1855, while it covers a quarter of a century of time, is comparatively slender in its content. The area of the country included under this name is immense, stretching, like ' South Australia,' over the breadth of the continent from south to north, and covers more than two-fifths of it from east to west. But only a fraction of this enormous space is habitable. Colonization began on the western side of Australia seven years sooner than upon the south. The early experiments, commencing from 1829, had, however, but a moderate success ; neither soil nor climate were so propitious here as those of the south-eastern regions. The discoveries of gold and other mines which have made Western Australia thriving and famous¹ took place less than thirty years ago. Not till 1893 did this colony reach the population-mark of 60,000, qualifying it for the grant of an elective legislature.

As in the case of Victoria and South Australia, Methodism came in with the founders of the colony ; and here, once more, we find the Local Preacher and Class-leader the forerunner of the Missionary. The earliest occupation took place about the middle of the year 1829, when a body of immigrants were set down near the mouth of the Swan River. They were sent out well furnished, under the auspices of a company formed for the purpose, but were landed in mid-winter, with no preparation made for their coming and with little leadership or guidance. The party suffered hardship amounting to misery from the storms of the season and the hostility of the Natives—troubles made greatly worse by their disorganization and want of training.

¹ Of recent years Western Australia has produced more gold than all the rest of the Continent put together.

Some six months later, in February, 1830, there sailed up the Swan River the barque *Tranby*, chartered by two Wesleyan Yorkshire families, of the names of Hardey and Clarkson, accompanied by other Methodist friends. They came to join the Swan River immigrants, who were now beginning to recover from their forlorn condition. The *Tranby* company formed the nucleus of a Church. Lands were assigned to them between Perth and Guildford. They were resolved to maintain their godly fellowship, and to let their light shine in this far corner of the world, which they found to be a dark enough place. At once public services were commenced under the direction of Joseph Hardey, a former Local Preacher, who lived and laboured for God in this colony until 1872. The little band extended their ministrations to the town of Perth, the centre of the colony, where the shadow of a big jarrah-tree supplied the first sanctuary, the site of which is to this day reverently remembered. Soon Hardey and his companions carried the Gospel to Guildford, and to Fremantle, twelve miles away—the other two primitive settlements. James Inkpen, who belonged to the first batch of immigrants, was chosen Class-leader, and afterwards Superintendent of the Sunday school. He and his wife continued for long to be pillars of the church.

At the beginning of 1833 a second Methodist detachment arrived, including George Shenton and Charles and Bernard Clarkson, the first-named of whom especially proved a valuable ally—a man who 'by strength of personality, loyal service, and generous gifts, won a place of high regard and honour, and remained an earnest Local Preacher, Class-leader, and prominent officer, until his untimely decease ended a truly great career.'¹ The severe isolation and the lack of ministerial leadership suffered by this group of Methodists stimulated lay faculties and the sense of responsibility in the rank and file to an uncommon degree. Their deprivations were keenly felt; but they did their best to make up for these, and were not forsaken by the Spirit of God.

Hitherto the Society had met in private premises, or worshipped under the open sky. Now the time was come for raising a house of God. This was resolved upon in January, 1834, and a chapel was built by subscription, the promoters taking shares of £2 each in the property. In June of the same year the

¹ So writes Brian Wibberley in *A Century in the Pacific*, chap. iv., 'West Australia.'

building was opened. There were now five Local Preachers at work—Bernard Clarkson, J. W. Hardey, George Lazenby, and Henry Trigg, along with Joseph Hardey. Methodism thus organized itself in the colony, as far as could be, without a Travelling Preacher. The contentions which divided the original Society at Adelaide did not arise here; ‘the sagacity and fitness of the recognized leaders of the movement were exceptional.’ But the need of a spiritual adviser and head was felt none the less; indeed, a report of the situation had been sent to the Mission House in London by Methodists on the spot, soon after their landing, with an earnest appeal for a Missionary. The pitiable state of the Aborigines, who were accessible in large numbers from the Swan River, served as a powerful plea for help, beside the destitution of the settlers, who, if few in numbers, were spread over a wide area, and for a long while had but a single clergyman (Chaplain to the Governor) and a single schoolmaster to minister to their higher needs. For some years criminals under penal servitude were imported to the colony by the British Government at the request, in the first instance, of settlers suffering from the shortage of labour; but the remonstrances of the eastern colonists, whose experience in this respect had been disastrous, led to the cessation of the practice. Respectable immigrants were deterred by this cause, and the growth of the population was checked for a considerable time; but the convict element never became here a dominant factor in colonial life, as in New South Wales and Tasmania.

The hope of missionary help for the Western Australians was long deferred. Their petition is alluded to in the *Missionary Report* for 1837, where it is stated that the Society had been encouraged, by an offer of financial assistance for the purpose, to institute inquiries with a view to establishing a Mission among the Aborigines in this quarter. A Missionary is to be sent to Perth, who shall in the first instance care for the Society and congregation already formed amongst the colonists, and shall, as he finds opportunity, extend his ministry to the surrounding Natives. The outcome of this determination was the appointment of William Longbottom to the ‘Swan River Mission.’ How he was intercepted on the way, and how the loss of Western became the gain of South Australia, has been related in the earlier part of this chapter.

The lonely Perth people had to wait for three years more, until in 1840 John Smithies was sent to them. This long-suffering man had given eight years of faithful toil to Newfoundland; he was to experience in his new sphere through fifteen years conditions of labour yet more solitary and depressing. A man of ability as well as of devotion and experience, he commanded the unqualified respect of the Swan River Methodists, who had grown into independent ways, and of the settlers generally. He managed to combine his colonial pastorate and his Native Mission, succeeding in the latter better than any Missionary had done before him.¹

For twelve years Smithies laboured alone in this double capacity, no colleague being assigned him till 1852. Officially he belonged to the New South Wales District, and was under the direction of its Chairman resident in Sydney, across 2,000 miles of desert; his nearest brother Minister was at Adelaide, accessible only by a sea voyage of 1,500 miles! Attendance at Synod, or at any sort of meeting, was out of the question. William Boyce, the indefatigable Superintendent of Australian Missions (from 1845 onwards), promised a visit, but the promise was unfulfilled. Never before nor since has a Methodist Preacher been cut off so completely and for so long a period from his fellows. Referring to this fact thirty years later, Bickford writes: 'How it was that the Mission in Western Australia was left year after year with only one Missionary it is now difficult to say, and impossible to justify.' Something appears to have been lacking also at times in the sympathy and support of the lay helpers during the course of Smithies' long service at Swan River; to serve Natives and colonists with equal zeal is next to impossible.

In the year 1847 the Missionary sends to the Committee a full account of his position and work, which covers twelve pages of foolscap and is a very affecting document.

We² have been here [he writes] nearly eight years contending with prejudices and persecutions from without, and various and increasing troubles in the Native work . . . without any brotherly aid or sympathy or counteracting influence. We sometimes think that this is not Methodism, to be thus alone. We know you care for us and the cause; others of the brethren to whom I have written in the colonies sympathize

¹ On this part of his work, see chapter vii.

² The 'we' of this letter means Mr. and Mrs. Smithies.

with us ; but these things bring no help. . . . Dear fathers and brethren, do not mistake, or think that we are weary of this place or of the Mission, or wish to change without reason. We could live and die here, provided that we saw the hand of the Lord stretched out to save ; but we are weary, and ought to be, of being shut up, of having our hands tied, of going through a monotonous work from day to day, just holding our positions. It is this which has forced me to request of Mr. Boyce, or yourselves, some change either in giving us one additional labourer, or sending some other brother to do merely as I have done. I may say, once for all, that no one missionary can possibly attend to native and colonial work. . . . We have many mercies—health, strength, and blessing—and should be daily grateful and devoted, as I trust we are ; but after all, it does not suffice to live unless it be to purpose.

John Smithies suffered to an extreme from the distress which has afflicted many a Missionary—that of being compelled to do distractedly and ineffectively, under the constant temptation to despondency, a variety of work beyond the compass of any single man.

Five years longer this patient and quiet man held the fort alone ; the Conference of 1852 sent him two fellow helpers, both of proved efficiency. One of these was William Lowe, who had already earned a good degree in colonial service and spent the best of his strength in Western Australia. Taking charge of the English church in Perth, he enabled Smithies to remove his Native institution from the unsuitable locality to which it had been tied by the exigencies of his double office. Reporting this long-desired change to the Committee, the grateful man exclaims :

We have now a Mission with suitable appliances amid a populous district of colonists and natives, and every chance of doing something, temporally and spiritually !

The West Australian work at length began to progress. The other appointee of this date was a former West African Missionary (1842-49) and a man of conspicuous mark, Thomas Raston by name. But Raston never saw Western Australia. He was shipwrecked on the South American coast in sailing from England to his destination ; and when, after strange adventures, he reached Port Phillip belated, at the time when the Victorian staff were desperately put to it to find evangelists for the goldfields, William Butters commandeered the passer-by

for this service. Thus, as in the case of Longbottom, Western Australia suffered a second time from the incidents of shipwreck and the imperious claims of other Districts.

Two years later Raston's place was filled by the coming of Samuel Hardey, by this time a veteran in service,¹ who presents one of the most gracious and charming figures of our missionary portrait-gallery. Hardey arrived in feeble health. The debility induced by the Madras climate had been aggravated by a chill caught on the voyage eastwards. He was put ashore at Mauritius in what appeared to be a dying condition, but recovered there, and spent the months of convalescence in evangelizing the Tamil coolies of this French island. He then pursued his way to Australia, and a year's rest in supernumeraryship restored his health, so that he was able, when Smithies withdrew in 1855, to take charge of the Perth Circuit and to direct the work of the District under the Australasian Conference. Five years later he was called off by the Missionary Committee to South Africa. There was in Hardey a unique combination of wisdom, dignity, and sweetness of disposition; and his six years' residence in this colony were of inestimable benefit to the Methodism of that isolated and undeveloped colony, serving to broaden its outlook, enrich its spiritual life, and impart to it a new self-respect.

The newly constituted District of Western Australia reported, when taken over by the Australasian Conference, 60 Church members (no other District was ever formed with so small a membership); 2 chapels, and 4 other preaching-places; 150 Sunday scholars, with 20 teachers; 4 Local Preachers; 3 Ministers (including the supernumerary Hardey), and 440 adherents. The population of the colony was about 11,000, and the Methodist constituency numbered about 4 per cent.—an almost insignificant fraction. To-day, in a population of about 200,000, the Methodists claim more than 10 per cent.

¹ Few Wesleyan Missionaries have served so long in the fighting ranks—from 1827-78, with one year of retirement—and no other in such varied fields as Samuel Hardey. He laboured during his half-century of ministry in four continents: for twenty-three years in South India; seven years in Western Australia; sixteen years as Chairman of the Cape Town District in South Africa, where he died; and three years between the two periods of Indian service, in English Circuits. Beside all this, he occupied something like a year in valuable work at the Mauritius. It would be hard to say in which of these widely remote fields he was most useful and most beloved. The identity of his surname (rare in this form) with that of the *Hardeys* who took part in the foundation of the Western Australian Colony and Methodist Church, suggests some family relationship on his part with these early settlers, leading him to resort to this country on the failure of his health in India; but evidence on this point is wanting.

The long period of neglect, endured till 1852, left our Church sadly behind in the race.

The smallness and poverty of the Western Australian District necessitated its remaining for years to come a special charge upon the home Connexion for the supply both of men and means, while in administration it was placed on the same footing with the other Districts of the province.

VI

ADVANCE, AUSTRALIA!

William B. Boyce—Instructions from the Committee—Developments in Sydney—Shortage of Missionaries—A Scheme that Failed—An Official Visit and a satisfactory Report—The Australasian Methodist Connexion—Its Constitution—The first Conference—Review of the Districts—Statistics.

WE dropped the thread of the story of Methodism in the Australian mother colony at the point when, in 1845, William B. Boyce arrived in the capacity of General Superintendent of Missions. This remarkable man has already been described, and the readers are acquainted with his personality. His appointment at this juncture to be a nursing-father to the Methodist people throughout Australia and Van Diemen's Land was one of the happiest selections ever made on the part of the Missionary Society. The memorandum of Joseph Orton drawn up in 1840 appears to have initiated the consultations resulting in this arrangement. The Australian colonies were so remote from home and out of touch with each other that they were bound to be treated as separate missionary areas, while the churches formed in them had not yet grown to the stage of self-government; at the same time they bore a similar character, and, despite their distance, were in many ways interrelated, so that a common basis of organization was desirable. Some superior authority was required, who should be in a position to survey the entire field and master its problems, to represent Australian Methodism as a whole before the home Church and the colonial public and provincial Governments; who would be able to distribute for the general advantage the men and means disposable, checking local aberrations and assisting in local emergencies; who would thus unify the forces of the Church throughout these colonies, and supply the inspiration and the forward impulse that would carry them as a united body to the goal of an independent and self-complete Connexional existence. Such a task required the rarest combination

of qualities of mind, heart, character, experience, and temper ; this combination was found in the chosen man.

Boyce was now in the prime of life. He had received his training in South Africa in the school of William Shaw, wisest and strongest of our missionary leaders. In this field he had won a reputation not only for evangelistic zeal and administrative talent, but for intellectual grasp and acumen. Since the close of his career in Africa, Boyce had been sufficiently long in England to become acquainted with the Mission House and its policy, and with the home side of missionary affairs. Bickford, in his reminiscences already quoted, describes the impression made by Boyce upon young Missionaries arrived in Sydney—how he ‘greeted them with an address full of practical wisdom, and delivered in a brusque unconventional style,’ suggesting that Bickford, for instance, ‘was a fever-stricken, worn-out West Indian Missionary, whom the Committee had sent to Australia to save their funds !’ This sally amused Rabone and Hull standing by, who were familiar with Boyce’s humour, but took the new-comer aback.

He was a great man in his very humbleness, and a wise man in his condescending affability to all classes of religionists. . . . At the bottom he was one of the truest and best men I have ever known.

From the letter addressed in 1844 through M’Kenny to the New South Wales Synod, and from the instructions given to Boyce on his appointment, the aims of the Missionary Society in making this designation are apparent :

(1) The Committee is impressed with the need of more efficient supervision over the Stations in Australia, in order to ‘bring our system to bear in the most beneficial manner upon the scattered population within their limits.’

(2) It desires to see the Church’s work based on ‘foundations broad and deep,’ so that ‘its development may prove commensurate with the increasing religious wants of the community.’ It foresees that Australia ‘will probably become the seat of a great empire,’ and believes that the Wesleyan Church ‘is called, in the order of providence,’ to contribute to ‘the social constitution’ elements of vital importance to ‘the welfare and prosperity of rising States.’

(3) ‘In recommending to the Conference your appointment to the office with which you are invested, the Committee’

[it is said to Boyce] ' have another object in view. They are actuated by the conviction that our work in Australia and Van Diemen's Land must be made to depend for development and extension very much on its own resources. The funds raised in this country (Britain) are not sufficient to keep up in a state of efficiency our Missions in purely heathen countries, and cannot be taxed, to any great extent, for the support of Missions among our countrymen in the Colonial Dependencies of the Empire. . . . You must, therefore, inculcate upon your own brethren, the Missionaries, and our people at large ' the duty and the privileges of self-support. ' All your plans ' for the future ' must be formed with the enlightened and comprehensive view of preparing for the period (which cannot be far distant) when such of our Missions as those in Australia and Van Diemen's Land will be removed from all dependence upon the funds of the Society at home.' ¹ The case of the Mission to the Australian Natives is excepted from the scope of the last observation—an exception, alas, soon to lose its relevance.

The long communication from Beecham's pen which preceded these directions was chiefly an enforcement of the third of the above arguments. Similar notifications were sent about the same time to the Districts of North America and the West Indies. Ideas were afloat, often much exaggerated, of the well-to-do condition of the colonists in different quarters, which raised a prejudice against the granting to them of missionary aid. Unfriendly critics took objection to the spending of so large a proportion of the Missionary Society's revenue in this way ; indeed, dissatisfaction about the cost of the colonies to the mother country was widely entertained, on both political and religious accounts. The objection failed to realize the fact that colonial wealth was potential rather than actual ; that for the present it was the time of *sowing* in the new fields, which would yield a return for seed and labour liberally bestowed, but had no store of their own from which to provide these primary indispensables. ' The appointed weeks of harvest ' must arrive in due season ; Boyce's mission was an anticipation of their coming for the case in question. But there were impatient sowers at home, who looked for harvest in April

¹ This statesmanlike document is signed by *John Beecham*, but bears internal marks of Jabez Bunting's hand. It was probably a joint composition. Its largeness of conception, and its dignity, force, and precision of language, do credit to both Secretaries.

or in June ! The stormy years on which the Missionary Society entered in the later forties stimulated the desire of the home Church to be relieved of colonial burdens, and emphasized the motives which induced the Mission House to urge the policy of colonial independence on its representatives, both in west and south.

The coming of the General Superintendent did not lead to any immediate change in the missionary affairs of New South Wales. But in a year or two its effect became apparent. The Synod of 1846 reports that

two new places have been visited during the year. First : Port Macquarie, 200 miles by the coast N.E. of Sydney, where we have a nice chapel and congregation, with fifty members of Society. . . . The people earnestly request the appointment of a Preacher, for whom the field is extensive and inviting. Second : Goulburn, 130 miles S.E. of Sydney, where there are a few members and a respectable congregation, which would be much increased were a Preacher resident amongst them. We have two Local Preachers there ; but the staff of the town, and the distance, call for the appointment of a man fully devoted to the work of the Lord.

Goulburn was soon to become a chief centre of Methodism in the province. The two places above-named appear in the Stations in 1847, along with ' Moreton Bay ' (later Brisbane),¹ for which ' One is requested.'

In this year Thomas B. Harris from England—a man of some standing in the ministry and a faithful and useful labourer in the Australian field for years to come—was added to the New South Wales staff, which now numbered twelve on its list of regular Missionaries. The devoted William Moore, who was after a while brought into the ministry and became a valuable Fijian Missionary, commenced the work of Methodism at Moreton Bay as a lay evangelist. The arrangements made at this time for the other sections of Boyce's District—Australia Felix, South and Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land—have been noted in previous chapters.

The work in Sydney and its suburbs received a powerful impulse. The York Street Chapel, built on the strength of the Centenary effort of 1839-40, was proving its value as a city-centre for the church. Beside Boyce himself, who was no

¹This spot, first occupied as a penal settlement, was the nucleus of the present Colonial State of Queensland.

mean Preacher, Frederick Lewis and Nathaniel Turner exercised in the York Street pulpit a ministry of commanding power. In 1848 matters were ripe for the partition of the Sydney Societies into North and South Circuits, which were superintended by the two able Ministers just named. The Chippendale Chapel supplied the head quarters of Sydney South. A new chapel was planned at Surrey Hills—the rapidly growing eastern quarter of the city ; this erection furnished in 1850 the head of a third Circuit (‘ Sydney East ’), to which Benjamin Hurst was appointed, at that date removed from the nearly abandoned Buntingdale Mission to the Aborigines. These subdivisions stimulated the activities of Sydney Methodism and developed the powers of its laymen.¹ The country Circuits, while scarcely increased in number since 1847, were extending their operations on all sides and spreading systematically over the settled country. The membership returns of 1850 showed a total of 2,103—an advance of more than 50 per cent. in five years. The population of New South Wales was now rapidly advancing in numbers whilst notably improved in character. Since the importation of convicts was stopped in 1840 a better class of immigrants was attracted to the colony. The Mission staff, under Boyce’s direction for this part of the District, was still limited to a dozen—four out of the thirteen Circuits were provided, according to the *Minutes*, with ‘ No resident Missionary.’ Francis Tuckfield had at last been withdrawn from Buntingdale, and was serving the Sydney North Circuit. Two additional men had been furnished from England : Benjamin Chapman, who had laboured for about ten years in West Africa and joined the Australian ranks in 1848, to spend the rest of his useful ministry there (he died in 1866) ; and Joseph Oram, a young man commencing service, who gave nearly fifty years to the Australian work, and

¹ With the growth of Sydney and Melbourne into commercial cities, the centres of oceanic traffic, a class of wholesale traders sprang up, not a few of whom became merchant princes. Amongst these was Walter Powell of Melbourne, who in his later years removed to London, where he stood in the first rank of metropolitan Methodist laymen. The brothers M’Arthur (William and Alexander), sons of an Irish Methodist Preacher, built up a prosperous firm of this nature, having offices in London and branches and agencies through the Colonies. These two eminent men also gravitated to London, where Sir William M’Arthur was made Lord Mayor of the City—he was for a number of years Treasurer of the Missionary Society ; and Alexander M’Arthur rendered no less faithful and princely service to his Church. Both were members of the British Parliament. These and such laymen of wealth and business influence contributed freely to the formation of Methodism during its days of need and stress in their colonial homes. The telegraph cable, unifying the markets and enabling buyers and sellers all over the world to communicate directly, has taken away much of the occupation of these great wholesale importers.

acquitted himself worthily and well. Innes and Harris had been transferred to other colonies. In 1851 John Watsford returned to his native District from Fiji, Stephen Rabone¹ was transferred hither from the Friendly Islands, and John Eggleston from Tasmania. Transfers also took place in the opposite direction.

Boyce largely extended the practice, hitherto occasional in this field, of employing salaried but unordained local agents to meet the shortage of Missionaries. The position thus created supplied to young men conscious of a vocation to the ministry, and to the Church which employed them, a means of testing their powers and qualities before their formal acceptance as candidates. Difficulties arose now and then in regard to the status of these auxiliaries ; but they filled, in most instances, very usefully the gaps in the Circuit Stations ; and some such auxiliaries were indispensable at this period of rapid expansion, when Circuits were being multiplied on the basis of a slender ministerial staff. The deficiency was due in great part to the discouragement of local candidature which took place twenty years earlier, in consequence of the mistakes then made in the matter, and the conflict between the Synod and the home authorities thence arising. This state of things was now happily altered. Amongst the colonial preachers who entered the Australian ministry by this opened gate were John C. Thrum ; John Gane Millard and William G. Currey, received in 1847 ; James Somerville, John W. Pemell, William Byrne, who entered in the following year ; Joseph Fillingham, in 1850 ; George Pickering and John Bowes, in 1851. This was a substantial crop of candidates, and evidenced, moreover, the capacity of Australian Methodism for self-propagation. The case of Australia at this juncture resembled that which continued long in Canada, where the working Circuit staff was habitually larger than appears in the official Stations, because the Chairman (of Presiding Elders) were empowered to enlist supplies for Circuit emergencies from the ranks of the Local Preachers, some of whom returned to their secular occupation

¹ A sentence or two should be added to the account previously given of this admirable man : ' For upwards of twenty years no voice was more familiar than his in many parts of N.S. Wales.' ' Its sonorous tones ' were charged with ' persuasiveness and holy influence.' His preaching ' presented the fruits of various reading, of extensive observation, and of much secret prayer ; it was pervaded with fervent love to God, and to the souls of men.' His power in prayer was often marvellous. ' Accuracy, courtesy, and dispatch ' distinguished his official work ; he was an early Secretary of the Australasian Conference.

after a spell of Circuit supply work, while others approved themselves as candidates for the ministry through the service rendered in this capacity. The designation 'Assistant Missionary' was given to Australian Ministers called out on the Mission Field, as in other Districts ; but the trouble occasioned by this distinction in North America did not arise here.

Some other experiments made by Boyce were not so successful as those we have described. In 1846 he persuaded the Synod, in compliance with a suggestion from the Missionary Committee, to inaugurate a joint 'Australian Chapel Fund and Contingent Fund,' designed to provide for Connexional expenses outside the Circuit liabilities, and to assist local enterprise in chapel building. Had lay representation then existed in the Synod, this scheme might have been favourably received ; as things were, it looked like a tax imposed by the Ministers upon the Church.

The financial barque was launched, but the gentle winds which it was hoped the people's generosity would set in motion never filled its sails.

The voluntary income this twofold fund secured, derived from all sections of the Australian District, never exceeded £150 a year ; but for the annual grants made by the New South Wales Government during the time of concurrent State aid to the Churches it would have been an undisguised failure. In 1859 the department was reorganized under a new name, and subsequently fared better. Further, the General Superintendent turned to account his literary knowledge and taste by issuing in 1846 a weekly religious journal named *The Gleaner*, edited by himself—for the most part a compilation of extracts from world literature.¹ But the reading public of the colonies was small ; and the venture, failing to secure a paying circulation, was discontinued after two years.

The year 1851 was memorable for New South Wales as well as for Victoria. Gold was discovered in the former colony (though by no means in such abundance as in the latter), at a spot named Ophir, situated in the interior forty miles west of Bathurst, and almost simultaneously in several other localities. A rush took place from Sydney and from other parts of the colony to this outlying spot. The stampede was not so general

¹ A kind of *Great Thoughts*, appearing before the times were ripe for it.

here as in South Australia, but it unsettled the life of the Church in many directions. Local Preachers and Class-leaders went off to the diggings; young men of energy and adventure disappeared from the congregations. The unwholesome public excitement hindered spiritual work amongst those who remained, and for the time the maintenance of the means of grace was difficult. The Bathurst Minister, Benjamin Chapman, promptly visited the Ophir diggings; he instituted Divine worship there on the first Sunday after the discovery of gold was made public, while there were but two or three hundred miners on the Creek. That the labours of Chapman and his helpers, undertaken in response to the sudden demand, were not without fruit is shown by the fact that two years later a 'Goldfields' Circuit appears in the list of New South Wales Methodist Stations, which is credited with 200 Church members.¹

Coal had been raised in and around Newcastle from an early period. From this time the mining population became an important factor in the existence of the colony. Extensive deposits of silver and copper were also found, and turned to account in course of time; and the production of gold has been continuous in several districts of the colony. The mining interest became, from the early fifties, an important factor in the progress of New South Wales, though never preponderant as in Victoria. Wool remains to this day the chief commercial staple of this province; and its population, being predominantly rural and pastoral, is spread over a very large area.

The purposes with which the Missionary Committee had sent William Boyce to Australia and entrusted him with such extensive powers, by the year 1852 had been largely realized. The New South Wales District was strengthened and improved in every respect, and had the prospect of yet greater development in the near future. The Van Diemen's Land section had benefited through the new administration in only a less degree, while South Australia, under Daniel Draper's masterly leadership, had advanced beyond all hopes. Victoria (as the new province carved out of New South Wales was called) had leaped into fame and sudden wealth; and the Methodist Society there, of little account hitherto, through the faithful use of its oppor-

¹ In 1854, however, this number is cut down by one-half—the constituency was doubtless a shifting one.

tunities was on the way to become a strength to the Church in the whole continent. Melbourne bid fair to rival Sydney in quality of citizenship and in Christian influence. New Zealand, where the Maori Mission had of late years achieved striking success, was budding into colonial greatness. Despite the breadth of intervening ocean, its affairs were closely knit with those of Australia. The conditions for the establishment of a self-supporting Methodism in Australasia were much more auspicious than could have been anticipated seven years earlier. At the same time the course of events at home made the necessity of securing relief for the Missionary Fund painfully urgent.

The British Conference of 1852 determined, therefore, to attempt a settlement of the colonial question without delay. It was resolved to dispatch an official representative of the Missionary Society and the British Conference to visit the Australian Districts, New Zealand, and the South Sea Islands, in order to discuss the situation with our responsible people in the colonies and Missions, to set before them the views of the Church at home, and to secure their assent to the plan of independence. On his report, it was hoped, the Missionary Committee would be in a position to develop and carry through a proper scheme for the creation of an Affiliated Conference of Australasia, to which the direction of all the Missions in that part of the world might be entrusted.

Robert Young was selected for this honourable but laborious and delicate task. A man now of mature age, he had spent his early years of ministry in North America, where, under difficult conditions, he had done excellent pioneer work, and had learnt to understand the colonial temper and needs. He had subsequently attained distinction in the home ranks as a man of spiritual fervour and thorough devotion, at the same time of eloquence and genial breadth, of tact and strong sense. A fine presence and dignified bearing helped to make Robert Young a fitting delegate from the Old Country.¹

Young's instructions from the Mission House define

the constitution of a New Conference for the Australian colonies, distinct from the British Conference yet not wholly independent of it, but

¹ Young has left an interesting narrative of his Mission, which is still worth reading, and which gives a very pleasant impression of the writer, in his published *Journal of a Deputation to the Southern World*.

sustaining a relation to it analogous to that in which the Conferences of Ireland, Western Canada,¹ and France respectively stand, [as] the course suggested by the circumstances of the times and approving itself to the judgement of those in this country who are the most competent to form an opinion on the subject.

This measure, it is expected, will

tend to a most advantageous development of the resources of the Australian colonies, while it would secure . . . the unity of Wesleyan Methodism. If the attainment of these objects should require some additional sacrifices on the part of our brethren stationed there, we cannot doubt that they will be readily made.

This last sentence alludes to the natural reluctance of Missionaries of English birth to sever their connexion with home Methodism and to renounce their claim to a place on the British Stations in the event of their returning to England.

The proposals brought by the deputation were made in the most agreeable manner and brotherly spirit ; they proved welcome at each of the Australian Synods. The New South Wales Synod, while strong in its desire for colonial freedom, urged with equal force the necessity of an immediate increase of the staff, such as its own resources were wholly unable to provide, in order to overtake the unprecedented development of the colony and to meet the numerous demands for Methodist ministrations. About this need Boyce was far more concerned than for any constitutional change in administration. He writes :

I send you £500 raised by a few of us in ten minutes for six young men's passage, &c., to this colony. They must not be married, as they must create their own Circuits and get their own chapels and houses raised by our country friends before they can do this. They must be good Preachers ; lively, zealous, and not afraid of long rides, nor of sleeping in slab-huts, nor in the bush under the canopy of heaven. If they have a plain English education and can speak our language correctly (which is an important point), they will do without classical learning—though that is no objection, provided they can *preach* ; but they must have voices, and the ability to preach short, lively sermons. Mere bookish men will not do for us ; delicate divines are out of place in this country. But men who understand and can explain and enforce our doctrines, and who have zeal for the salvation of souls, will

¹ The larger 'Affiliated' Conference, including Eastern and Western Canada, was on the point of being formed. The older Conference of Western Canada had a peculiar genesis and a history of its own.

be most kindly received. . . . If they can preach, and can do the people good, they will make their way and will want for nothing.

The lead given by New South Wales was followed in Victoria and South Australia. Western Australia was at this date a comparatively negligible quantity. It was much to be regretted that the British deputation, like the General Superintendent before him, could not afford the time to inspect that outlying, unfrequented station.¹ Its necessities, however, were not overlooked ; and a pledge was given that the Missionary Committee would continue its care for this undeveloped corner of the continent. Young extended his visitation to New Zealand, and to Tonga and Fiji besides ; he was delighted to find it possible to include these Districts in the Australasian plan. On condition of a continued (yearly diminishing) subsidy from England, the colonial Methodists were willing to be responsible for the South Sea Missions ; indeed, they volunteered to bear this burden. The charge was the more readily undertaken inasmuch as Sydney, from the first, had been a nursing-mother of Polynesian enterprise. The interests and aspirations of Sydney look eastwards, like its great harbour. This meant the recognition of missionary duty by the colonials ; and it signified the ultimate devolution by British Methodism of the whole care of the Pacific Islands on the young shoulders of its southern daughter.

Robert Young, after eighteen months' absence (including the voyages in and out), reached home in April, 1854, and made his report to the ensuing Conference. His survey of the condition and prospects of the Church in Australasia, and his assurances of the loyalty of the Australian Methodists and their readiness and competence to sustain the duties incumbent on them, were 'eminently satisfactory.' The way, it was considered, 'is now prepared for that self-government which had become necessary.' The future of Methodism in the Southern World was, under God, secured. It was felt on all hands 'that this vast field could no longer be well worked from London as the official centre' of its operations ; 'its exigencies had more than once baffled the wisdom of the Missionary Committee.'

¹ Robert Young's arrival in the colonies was grievously delayed by an unfortunate start. Twice he was compelled to return to Plymouth through the breakdown of the vessels on which he embarked, each of which in turn narrowly escaped disaster ; his companion was so shaken that he gave up the enterprise. He finally set sail in January, 1853, three months after the first embarkation.

Such was the mature opinion of the closest observers of Methodist affairs in this region. Little doubt or misgiving was entertained by the Birmingham Conference as to the course to be taken ; and the ' Plan for forming the Wesleyan Missionary Society's Australian and Polynesian Missions into a distinct and Affiliated Connexion ' received a unanimous assent. This historical document, proposed on behalf of the Missionary Committee, was adopted by the Conference on August 9, 1854 ; it bears the signature of the President, *John Farrar*.

The conduct of the negotiations on the British side had been in the hands of Dr. John Beecham ; he bore the chief part in working out and drafting the scheme, and had in hand about the same time parallel plans for France, Eastern British America, and Canada. The success which attended the establishment of the Australasian Conference, and its smooth working when in operation, were due to the care, sagacity, and perfect knowledge of the Methodist system which distinguished the venerable chief of the Mission House, as well as to the generalship of William Boyce, and the persuasive advocacy of Robert Young, on the colonial field. The ' Plan ' was drawn up under seven principal heads¹ :

(1) The title of the new ecclesiastical body is stated as *The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion*. It is laid down that this Connexion ' shall continue to maintain in common with the English Connexion the Wesleyan doctrine as contained in Mr. Wesley's four volumes of *Sermons*, and *Notes on the New Testament*, and the Wesleyan system of discipline, as contained in the *Minutes* of Conference.'

(2) The Conference, as the governing authority, is defined in its constituent parts, its times and places of meeting (variable at discretion), the persons who shall constitute it and their qualifications, the powers it shall exercise as the supreme court of discipline, legislation, and administration for the Societies and Circuits under its oversight. The duties of its President are set forth, provision being made for the contingency of his removal by death or any other cause. Two limiting powers are reserved to the English Conference :

(1) It shall have the right, when it may think desirable, of choosing one of its own number to preside over the Australasian Conference ;

¹ This outline will serve, *mutatis mutandis*, for each of the Affiliated Conferences.

(2) of 'disallowing . . . such rules, or rule, as in its judgement infringe any of our doctrinal or disciplinary principles.'

The second of these checks the British Conference never found it necessary to enforce ; the former right it acted upon, with universal approval, by designating William B. Boyce as first occupant of the new Presidential Chair.

(3) The subordinate ' District ' forms the topic of the third heading. The powers of the annual ' District Meeting,' and the functions of the ' District Chairman,' are set forth on the familiar British lines. Regulations are particularly laid down for the formation of a District Chapel Committee, in which laymen are to sit, empowered to control chapel building in the Circuits. A power is given to the Colonial District Meeting, which the English Synod did not possess, of nominating to the Conference persons for appointment to Connexional Committees.

(4) ' The existing claims of Missionaries ' are somewhat elaborately considered. The option is given to Ministers previously appointed from England and members of the English Conference, which shall remain open ' for a considerable period,' of returning to the mother country upon reason shown, and of claiming thereupon a place in the British Circuit ministry ; but it is expected that this valued body of men will in general abide by the colonial Church. Their claims on Connexional Funds are guarded, and corresponding provisions are to be made by the Australasian Connexion for the Ministers called out in its employment.

(5) The Ministers who may be called to service under the new Conference, shall have no lien upon the parent Church by reason of their Australasian status, whether they may have been admitted as colonial or British candidates.

(6) Article 6 charges the Church now constituted, ' in accordance with New Testament rule,' with the undivided responsibility for ' the sustenance of its own Ministers,' including all financial obligations contingent thereupon. It prescribes certain Committee arrangements designed to secure the proper discharge of these liabilities.

(7) Lastly, directions are given for the management of the Missions in New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Fiji, which the parent Church hands over to her daughter as her providential charge. The Australasian Conference is expected, in

constituting its missionary agencies, to follow the model furnished by the Missionary Society in England, which represents the British Conference and the home Connexion for missionary purposes. But so long, and so far, as the South Sea Missions are subsidized from England, they shall be regarded as integral with the Missions of the Parent Society, and yearly reports shall be submitted of the state and prospects of Australasian Mission work. 'The General Superintendent of Missions' in the colonies shall regularly correspond with the London Mission House, informing and advising with the Missionary Secretaries and Committee there. For the present the Parent Society agrees to contribute to the carrying on of the South Sea Missions a sum of money equal to the amount raised for this purpose in the Australasian Districts, 'with such additions as the necessities of the work may, for a time, require.' By degrees the Affiliated Conference, it is understood, will find the means to sustain its missionary burdens unaided, and will press toward this goal.

The first Australasian Conference met at York Street Chapel, Sydney, on January 18, 1855. It consisted of forty-one Ministers—about a third of the entire staff. The appointment of Mr. Boyce as President was confirmed, and John A. Manton was elected Secretary, with Stephen Rabone and Henry H. Gaud for assistants. The Plan transmitted from the British Conference was unanimously adopted as the basis of 'the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion.' Five young Ministers who had completed their probation were received after examination into Full Connexion (according to the well-worn Methodist phrase), and ordained by the imposition of hands. They received a charge, packed with weighty wisdom, from the lips of the President. Plans for the formation of a fund to assist in the maintenance of superannuated Ministers and Ministers' widows, for the reconstitution of the Contingent and Chapel-building Fund, and for the management of the Missions, were discussed. The first of these subjects was remitted to the District Meetings for maturer consideration. On the other matters Conference took action at once ; executive Committees, with their full quota of lay representatives, were formed and their members appointed.

The various branches of public education, including Sunday schools, came under review. The Conference, while dissatisfied

with the existing system of Government schools, advised 'our brethren and friends to co-operate heartily with the Legislature in rendering this less perfect mode of education as efficient as possible.' On the thorny question of grants for religious uses it did not contemplate nor desire the perpetuity of such assistance ; but Methodism must claim its due proportion of the disbursement so long as it continued to be made. On the general question of State subventions to the Church the Conference pronounced no verdict, regarding it as 'one not involving any New Testament principle,' but 'of expediency, respecting which men of equal judgement and piety may innocently differ in opinion.' The Australian attitude was decidedly more conservative and cautious than that adopted by the Canada Conference of an earlier date. Five Connexional collections were directed to be made annually in all the chapels—for Missions to the heathen, for Church extension at home (home Missions), for chapel-building and other plant, for the education of the Preachers' children, for the sustentation of supernumeraries and ministers' widows. On one point it was desired to modify the Plan of Constitution ; the Australasian Conference requested the freedom to choose its official head—a prerogative readily waived by the mother Conference. Boyce was the first elected President (1855).

After serving as the chief officer of the Australasian Conference and Connexion for a second year, having seen the new Church set upon its way, William Boyce, still in the vigour of his days, returned to England, where his counsels were needed at head quarters. He was placed on the staff of the Mission House in 1858, and wielded the Secretary's pen effectively for eighteen years. Two of his daughters had found homes in Australia,¹ one of them being the wife of the Hon. Sir George Wigram Allen, K.C.M.G., a leading New South Wales statesman, and a most enterprising, liberal, and hearty Methodist layman.² He had himself married, for his second wife, Miss Allen, the aunt of the above gentleman. Mr. Boyce's ties to

¹ The four daughters were clever and charming women, possessing a large share of their father's intellectual gifts, and all married distinguished men. One was the wife of Alexander M'Arthur, M.P., of Sydney and London ; and another of William Gibson, for many years the English Wesleyan minister in Paris.

² George Wigram Allen was the son of the Hon. George Allen, a man who rose to eminence in the public life of Sydney and the Colony by force of ability and character. He was for a generation the foremost lay leader of Methodism in New South Wales.

the colony were strong. He returned to Sydney on his retirement from public service in 1876, to spend the remainder of his days amongst his friends and books, keeping his pen busy and his heart alive to all the best human interests. J. A. Froude, the historian, in the volume of Australian travels entitled *Oceana*, has given a delightful glimpse of the saintly man :

The person whom I liked best [he is reviewing the colonial company gathered to meet him at Sir Wigram Allen's house] was Lady Allen's father, a beautiful old clergyman of eighty-two, who told me that he had read all my books ; that he disapproved deeply of much that he had found in them ; but that he had formed a sort of regard for the writer. He followed me into the hall when we went away, and gave me his blessing. Few gifts have ever been bestowed on me in this world which I have valued more. Sir Wigram Allen, I regret to say, is since dead ; the life and spirits which were flowing over so freely that night are now quenched and silent. He could not have a better friend near him than that venerable old man.

The host of that gathering passed away very suddenly in 1885 ; and the father-in-law followed him four years later.

The first address, excellently written, of the Australasian Conference to its mother supplies a telling report of the condition and outlook of Methodism in the Southern Seas. The former has under its direction 116 European Ministers, with some 59 Native Assistant Missionaries in the New Zealand, Friendly Islands, and Fiji Districts, nearly 800 chapels and other preaching-places, 19,897 Church members,¹ with an additional 1,958 on trial. From further statistics it appears that the regular 'hearers' in the Australasian area were reckoned at about 80,000, and that 35,570 children attended Methodist Sunday schools.

The address reiterates Australia's need for a continued supply of Ministers from England. Two classes of recruits are in requisition :

(1) ' Respectably educated and zealous young men,' well trained as Local Preachers, ' who would find among us a sphere second to none in the world.'

¹ Somewhat more than half this total were found in the Friendly Islands and Fiji ; and considerably more than a sixth in New Zealand, a large proportion of these being Maoris. The majority therefore of the Australasian Methodist constituency were coloured people and converts from heathenism. Thus while the total membership of this Connexion was about half that of the Canadian, and half as large again as that of Eastern British America, at the date of the formation of the three Conferences the Australasian bulked the smallest of the three in the census of its White membership. This was distinctly a Church of mixed race, with a predominantly heathen-missionary complexion.

(2) Men fitted 'to labour in the bush' as missionary evangelists, 'with bodies adapted to labour and fatigue, and with mental and moral energies which will not flag under either physical or intellectual privations.'

It is added :

We hope in a brief period to spare you any farther anxiety or expense in reference to the Polynesian Missions ; but in order to enable us to ensure results so desirable *you must send us more men.*

In regard to the most precious and vital of all forms of aid, the furnishing of *men*, the colonial Church, as was natural enough, for a long time to come would have to draw from the parent source. The troubles British Methodism was then passing through were in this respect the gain of the colonies. For the time the Reform agitation had crippled many of the home Circuits, and compelled a reduction in the number of their Ministers. Fewer candidates than formerly were required to fill the preaching-ranks in England, so that many young men, moved by this vocation, were led to emigrate and offer their services to the Church in America or Australia.

Australian Methodism went on its own way with a joyful courage. On the strength of the reinforcements now secured from England the Circuits were increased by the 1855 Conference at a stroke from forty-eight to fifty-six, five of the additional centres being formed in Victoria alone.

The enormous area over which the Australasian Districts were scattered, and the expense and hazards of communication (chiefly taking place by sea), made the holding of united meetings difficult. In view of the geographical difficulty it was proposed that the General Conference should meet every three or four years only, while Annual Sub-Conferences, with large powers of discipline and administration, should be held annually in the principal divisions of the Connexion. This scheme, which followed the precedent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, was nearly carried at the foundation Conference. Renewed again and again, the proposal took effect eighteen years later, when the provincial Districts, in virtue of their greatly increased strength, had acquired a 'Conference' magnitude.

By this time Queensland, with its capital of Brisbane, had grown out of the primitive Moreton Bay settlement into a

large and prosperous province, reaching its political majority when in 1859 (eight years later than Victoria) it was made a distinct colony by separation from New South Wales. In 1863 Queensland became a Methodist 'District,' then containing three Circuits. But the Queensland District remained ecclesiastically attached to New South Wales, until it was raised to the rank of a Conference in 1893, by which time it had been divided into 'North' and 'South' Districts (each the size of a kingdom), with 1,981 Church members between them and twenty Ministers in full work. Western Australia, notwithstanding its distance, continued officially an apanage of South Australia, because of its slender population and the diminutive size of its Methodism, but a kind of sub-Synod was annually held at Perth—the Western could not travel in a body to Adelaide. However, in 1890, following upon the discovery of gold, Western Australia was able to claim distinct colonial rank. Ten years later the Conference of this name came into existence, when the Church membership was about 2,000 and the total population 180,000.

New Zealand from the outset found it difficult to secure, over a thousand miles of sea,¹ an adequate representation in the General Conference; New Zealand Methodism in certain respects took on a marked idiosyncrasy.* Separation was asked for as early as 1881, but refused, though by a narrow vote. At length, in 1910, after the regrafting, first mooted in New Zealand, of the younger scions of Methodism in the colonies upon the parent stem, the General Conference yielded complete independence to New Zealand. The first assembly of united Methodism in Australia was held on February 27, 1901.

Thus by geographical fission and ecclesiastical fusion there has grown out of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion of 1855 the present separate Australian Methodist Church, with its general and subordinate Annual Conferences, and the New Zealand Methodist Church; each of these embraces the whole Methodist people of its own country and dependencies.

¹ The risk attending New Zealand's dependence on Australia was tragically illustrated when one year the ship foundered which conveyed the President of the local Conference, and the deputation chosen from the flower of the island ministry and laity; and every life on board was lost.

² The New Zealanders have shown themselves, politically and socially, the most 'radical' and the boldest in experiment of all Britishers. The same disposition on their part was noticeable in the General Conference of Australasia.

For foreign missionary purposes New Zealand remains associated with Australia. The Australian Missionary Society, which has its head quarters at Sydney, has extended its operations beyond the Districts of Tonga and Fiji taken over from England in 1855, and the Samoa District, which reverted to Australian Methodism after that date, to the fields of New Britain, Papua (British New Guinea), and the Solomon Islands, where it has encountered a heathenism of the most savage and degraded type. Apart from the three older missionary Districts just named, in the lately entered areas a Native Church membership of 7,000, and above 60,000 adherents of the Church, are already counted. Australian Methodism has its own great story to tell of missionary enterprise and heroism, and of God's day of visitation to the heathen. A wide and glorious field lies before that Church in the countless islands strewn on the bosom of the Pacific Ocean.

At the present date (1913) the Methodist Church in Australasia (excluding New Zealand) numbers 150,000 members in Church fellowship, with nearly 1,000 Ministers. Of this number Victoria and Tasmania, which constitute one Conference, contain more than a fourth part ; next in order comes New South Wales, with above a seventh part ; South Australia, with rather less than the same proportion ; Queensland claims about 10,000. The Western Australian constituency is 5,000. The Fijian Districts make up a third of the entire membership, Fiji reporting 35,000 Native members, Samoa 2,600, and the remaining Missions close upon 10,000 (including members on trial). Tonga for some years past has had a Methodist Church of its own.

New Zealand Methodism has about 25,000 members and 200 Ministers. The final Methodist union in that country (embracing the Primitive Methodist Church¹) took place in the year 1912, following on its separation from Australia.

¹ This Church declined to join the other Methodists until the latter had separated from Australia.

VII

THE ABORIGINES

A sad Chapter—Ill-Treatment of Aborigines—Four distinct Attempts to Evangelize—The Paramatta Seminary—An Industrial Mission—The Port Phillip Mission—Francis Tuckfield—John Smithies' Effort—In Tasmania—An Effort to deport Aborigines—An extinct Race—Other Efforts in Australia—Present Situation.

THE present chapter must be short and sad ; it relates the abortive beginning of a task which is now being resumed with more enlightened and persevering faith.

When the Methodist Mission was commenced in Australia very little was known about the native inhabitants of the continent. Their existence was scarcely recognized by the British Government in its plans of occupation ; regard for their claims, or for the effect upon them of the landing of criminals on their shores, hardly entered into the thoughts of the projectors. Enough to be assured that no serious resistance to the invasion need be feared. Not till the settlement had been made and intercourse had commenced between the new-comers and ' the Blackfellows ' ¹ did the question present itself to the relations to be established on the two sides.

For most of the invaders, as might be expected from their antecedents, the doctrine that might is right was a sufficient rule ; deception, cruelty, and outrage were practised on the Blacks without restraint or shame during the earlier years of the New South Wales colony. Acts of theft, and occasionally of violence, were committed by the savages ; but the balance in the account of injury was beyond calculation on the other side, while the Native folk, as the records of exploration show, when unprovoked by previous wrongs, were susceptible to

¹ The native Australians are not negroes. Their skin is brown-black or coffee-coloured, and their hair straight. They are thought to be by origin akin to the Dravidians of South India, whose general type is widely extended south-eastwards of India. The Tasmanians, on the other hand, were negritos, with curly hair and deep black complexions. It is supposed that they were the remnant of an earlier Australian population driven off the continent, whose blood has been mingled with that of their supplanters.

kindness and capable of humane feeling and of fidelity, sometimes in a high degree. Their low intelligence and the rudeness of their weapons made them helpless against European arms.

The Governors of the colony, and some of the magistrates and civil officers, had a conscience toward this unhappy people. Regulations were laid down for their protection, and attempts were made at their improvement. But the arm of the law failed to reach beyond the settled districts ; and when wrong-doers were put on trial their coloured victims saw little of fair play. The black man was scarcely conceived as having human rights, while he on his side was an utter stranger to the forms of legal vindication, and dreamed only of some wild revenge. Religious men, like Samuel Marsden, the Anglican chaplain, and Governor Macquarie, strove hard to put matters on a better footing, and insisted, so far as their influence went, on humanity and just dealing toward the Natives. Here and there a knowledge of the Blackfellows' language was acquired, and negotiations took place with their chiefs. Lands were reserved to them, and endeavours made to draw them into agriculture and regular industry. A boarding-school was established at Parramatta under Marsden's direction, in which a few Native children were gathered for Christian training. For a while this institution gave promise of success.

But the low morale of the colonists and their general treatment of the Natives doomed all attempts of the kind, made in their neighbourhood, to failure. There were individual cases of reclamation, and even of conversion to Christianity ; but to form a Christian community out of these savages under the existing conditions was impossible ; utter demoralization, through adding the worst European vices to their own, and ultimate extinction was their inevitable fate where they remained in contact with the White people. Their rank in the brute creation was matter of debate. Such services as could be extracted from them were usually paid for in liquor of the vilest sort. Not a few of the settlers looked on the 'niggers' as 'vermin,' to be shot at sight when one could do this safely ; terrible stories were current of hunting-parties who chased the miserable wretches for sport, and spared neither man, woman, nor little child. These things happened so lately as the thirties and forties of last century, and Joseph Orton tells in his journal appalling tales to this effect. In one such

case, where the guilty party were convicted and suffered the penalty of the law, the Governor was denounced by the chief newspaper of the colony for the 'mawkish sentimentality' of equalizing the Black man with the White, and counting as *murder* the taking of the life of a creature of so debased an order. In a society where such ideas prevailed the White man's religion had small chance of commending itself to the Black, had the latter been ever so receptive¹; and the Australian Blacks were the most unreceptive and the shyest, while they were the most degraded in mind and habits, of all savage tribes. Only the Bushmen of South Africa, and perhaps the Andaman Islanders, can be compared with them in the childishness of their intelligence and their averseness to settled modes of life.

During the first half-century of our Church's work in Australia four distinct attempts were made by the Methodist Missionaries to reach the Aborigines.

I. Samuel Leigh, in his earliest letters, draws attention to them, describing with sympathy the work of Marsden and his helpers on their behalf. In 1815 he writes home, soon after his arrival :

If the Methodist Conference should think it right to send a zealous, holy, patient, and persevering Missionary, to be devoted entirely to the native tribes, I have no doubt but he would be gladly received and well supported by the inhabitants of the Colony.

This was certainly true of *some* of those inhabitants ; and to the credit of the Australian Methodists it must be said that they never discouraged the Missions to the Blacks, and supplied some devoted agents for their prosecution, although they naturally put first the needs of their fellow colonists, for whom the supply of evangelists in these early days was always insufficient.

¹ J. C. Symons, in an Appendix contributed to his *Life of the Rev. D. J. Draper* on 'The Aborigines of Victoria,' which is full of valuable matter, comes to the following sorrowful conclusion : ' I fear that now (1870) it must be admitted that the remnant of the race is doomed to speedy extermination ; nor can any one who witnesses their disgusting, diseased, and decrepit condition greatly deplore such a result. Yet the Christian cannot fail to feel that the blood of this persecuted and neglected race is upon the heads of the Anglo-Saxon colonists, and that in the Great Day the Judge will not hold us guiltless of our inhumanity, injustice, and robbery.' A little earlier he quotes from another source the sentence : ' The gospel of peace can never be successfully *preached* by those who are engaged in *practising* the gospel of spoliation and extermination ; and although the Missionary himself may have no crimes of this sort to answer for, he is naturally included by the Aborigines in the same category with those who have.'

The Missionary Committee listened to the appeal for the deeply sunk and deeply wronged Australian Natives. Richard Watson, then newly appointed to the Mission House, laid their cause to heart ; and when Leigh (after his visit to England in 1820-21) returned to his work at the Antipodes, accompanied by three colleagues, one of these was designated to ' the Mission among the Black Natives.' This was William Walker, of whose career we have given some account in Chapter II. Walker was a clever and lively man, and had evidently made himself a favourite with Secretary Watson ; but his letters, and his proceedings, do not reveal much force or solidity of character. He scarcely seems to gain a grasp of the problem lying before him. His fellow labourers in the Mission arrived at an unfavourable opinion about him. There were faults on both sides in the quarrel which took place ; but when, after three years, William Walker threw up his work in consequence of the charge brought against him by the other Missionaries, the failure of his own Mission was already pronounced. He had visited freely the Blacks in the neighbourhood of the settlement, and conversed with those who used English, acquiring knowledge of their customs and ideas, and had begun some sort of preaching to them ; but he had not gone far afield amongst them, nor set himself to acquire their speech.¹ He certainly did not reach the back of their minds. His plans culminated in the building of a school at Parramatta, after the fashion of Mr. Marsden and the Government, who countenanced and assisted this further endeavour in the same line. During the first months Walker wrote hopefully of this institution, into which he gathered a handful of children,* expecting out of these to form the future evangelists and teachers of their tribe. The death of two of the boys²—one of whom showed the buddings of Christian faith and character—excited superstitious fears

¹ The N.S. Wales Synod, in its memorandum on the work amongst the Blacks, says on this point : ' To acquire their language would be of small avail, for their dialects are so numerous and diverse that the tribes can scarcely understand each other's speech.' The Synod recommends the plan, which the Missionary Committee approved, of establishing ' a Seminary for the maintenance and instruction of a select number of youths.'

² He reports in 1824 seven girls and six boys as under training in the School. More than half of these had white fathers.

³ The nomad children soon wearied of boarding-school life. They either broke bounds or were taken away by their parents, who seldom stayed long in any one place ; or, as in the above-mentioned cases, they sickened and died. ' To confine these free-roving and forest-loving wild people in barracks is fatal. This cage-like existence, with its compulsory drilling in catechisms and primers, was anything but a heavenly condition to the lads in whose ears were the perpetual calls of the wilds.'

and resentments in the people ; at the same time the Missionary was himself stricken with illness. By these misfortunes the experiment was wrecked. The older Anglican Parramatta school for the Aborigines failed later in a similar way.

II. The scheme of the Parramatta Seminary had miscarried, and its conductor had quitted the field. For some time the Missionaries were at a loss as to their future course, and delay arose in the winding-up of accounts with Walker. He continued to correspond with Richard Watson after his withdrawal in 1824, and retained a degree of influence with the colonial authorities. In December, 1825, he writes to England recommending concurrence with new proposals expected from the local Government, who contemplated the settlement of the Natives on land-reservations, where the Missionaries (Anglican and Methodist) might assist in training them upon agricultural and industrial lines. The futility of previous attempts at missioning them in the vicinity of the Europeans is now confessed. The hope was that, through segregation and the exclusion of pernicious influences, and by dealing with tribes untainted by the White man and unprejudiced against him, a moral hold upon the Aborigines might be secured, and the elements of Christianity and civilization might be instilled into their nature. This idea governed the plans for the salvation of the Australian Natives at their second stage. Walker concludes his letter by saying : ' The liberal grant of the Government has given a feature to our Missions in this hemisphere which they never had before ' ; he was probably more confident about the intentions of the Australian Executive than the facts warranted. The following New South Wales Synod communicated with the Missionary Committee on the subject, reporting a tentative offer of the Government in this direction, and hoping that some understanding would be reached. But no actual grant was forthcoming to the Methodist Mission.

The Synod had at its service a man well adapted, as it appeared, to carry out the new design. This was John Harper, a young Local Preacher of unmistakable energy, who had been Walker's assistant, and possessed exceptional knowledge of the Black people and a strong sympathy with them ; he had also gained some mastery of their language. He threw himself into the project of the agricultural settlement, and was sent to reconnoitre for suitable ground in different directions. The

district at first chosen, and approved by Government for the purpose, was the Wellington Valley, situated in the hinterland to the north-west of Bathurst, but Harper reported the periodical floods as a fatal drawback to this locality. It was extremely difficult to find a location suitable for the kind of training intended, and where the roaming Natives could be induced to stay ; a couple of years were spent in exploring and negotiating. In April, 1827, Harper writes to the Mission House to say that he has found in *Bateman Bay*, on the coast far south of Sydney, the proper situation, at the same time expounding his plans, and concluding :

Let the Mission be established at a place where the Blacks are not in communication with the Whites, and my soul for any man's but this Mission will prosper. . . . It would also in a short time be able to support itself.

However, by this time the Government had changed its mind—perhaps it disapproved of the locality chosen¹ ; the expected grant of land was refused, and John Harper's sanguine promise was never put to the proof. The post of Missionary 'to the Black Natives' is vacant in the *Minutes* of 1828,² and next year this heading disappears on the list of the Stations. The whole Mission was languishing, and after this repeated failure the Missionaries were too discouraged to devise further plans for Native evangelization.

III. Joseph Orton's coming, in the year 1831, brought with it new life ; and with the revival of other spiritual interests the hope and purpose of saving the Aborigines were renewed. Orton fulfilled the instructions given him when sent to Australia to keep the state of the Natives before him ; his letters home bear frequent reference to the matter. No man of missionary heart could move about in Australia without being seized by an intense longing to save these lost and hapless creatures. It was not, however, until his visit to Port Phillip along with John Batman in 1836 that Orton was able to take definite steps toward resuscitating the Native Mission. He was greatly

¹One may suspect also that our New South Wales Mission, about which its friends in England were disquieted, did not now stand in such esteem with the Government as in earlier years. Beside this, similar attempts had been made by other people without success.

²Harper had entered the ministry for the sake of the Native Mission and declined a Colonial post.

touched by the presence and behaviour of a number of the Black men at his first public services held on the site of Melbourne.

Some years previously public attention had been strongly called to the condition of Native races and their treatment by colonists in different parts of the British Empire ; a Committee of the House of Commons sat in the years 1833-34 to investigate and report on this wide subject. The inquiry revealed the pitiable plight to which the Australian Natives had been reduced and the shameful wrongs inflicted upon them. Amongst other measures taken to redress these injuries a body of supervision was formed for the country around and behind Port Phillip, consisting of a chief and four assistant ' Protectors of the Aborigines,' whose business it should be to shield the Black people from the aggressions of the settlers, and to see that British law was impartially enforced in all matters affecting the rights of the former. Directions were given for the reserving of lands in different parts of the colony for the undisturbed use of the Natives ; in these enclosures they were to be under the oversight of the ' Protectors,' who should be responsible for their sustenance and general welfare. This well-intentioned remedial plan of the British Government was frustrated through the obstruction of the colonists and the intractability of the Natives ; it proved, according to the testimony of one of its principal agents, ' a curse rather than a blessing.' The defects of the scheme propounded from England made this result, perhaps, inevitable, but its failure was hastened by the incompetence and unfitness of the person appointed as Chief Protector. Two of the Assistant Protectors were Methodists and Local Preachers, of the names of Dredge and Parker, who did their best to carry out the aim of Government. Orton met these gentlemen on coming to Melbourne, and was put in the way of informing himself respecting the Port Phillip Natives and of laying the plans which two years later took shape in the Buntingdale Mission.

The scheme of ' the Port Phillip Mission ' (as it was at first named¹) was, in fact, a reversion to the idea entertained in New South Wales a dozen years earlier of an isolated settlement for the Blacks, spacious enough for farming and industrial

¹ When in a little while the Native Mission had to be distinguished from the Melbourne Circuit, which lay directly on Port Phillip Gulf, the name ' Buntingdale ' was conferred on the former.

operations of various kinds, which should be combined with Christian training. An area of 64,000 acres was set aside by Government for the proposed Mission, in vacant territory eighty miles west of the newly founded town of Melbourne and half this distance from the infant port of Geelong. Bordering on the Barwon River, this land presented a delightful mixture of hill and dale, wood and grassy plain. So long as its isolation lasted this was an ideal spot for the long-desired experiment. Two Missionaries were put in charge of the venture—Benjamin Hurst and Francis Tuckfield. Though both were young and fresh from England, they appear to have been a well-chosen pair, and readily won the confidence of the Natives. They commenced work with great zest, and showed much practical ability. Tuckfield, the younger of the two, was a linguist; before he left Buntingdale he had mastered his people's vernacular, and made translations, forming the beginning of a literature for the youths he had taught to read. The report of the Missionaries during the first two or three years was such as to raise the brightest expectations.

Hurst and Tuckfield succeeded in drawing within the scope of the Mission several different tribes. They sought to reach a greater number of the wandering people, and to spread the leaven of the Gospel far and wide. But the mixture of jarring elements wrought a disaster. Jealousies were awakened, giving rise to quarrels which became incessant and sometimes furious. It proved impossible to continue the Mission upon the plan adopted; no general system of teaching or labour could be maintained when different clans refused to live and work together. White squatters began to infest the neighbourhood, bringing poisonous influences with them, and hardening the Native mind against Christianity. Conversions were wanting, or ended in backsliding; the establishment appeared to be a hot-bed of strife rather than a home of Christian peace. At this juncture the Government aid hitherto afforded was withdrawn, and the abandonment of the work seemed inevitable. Hurst withdrew in despair and took a colonial Circuit, after five years of honest and manful, but defeated, endeavour.

Tuckfield's heart was too deeply engaged in the undertaking to permit of this course. He begged permission to continue the attempt, on terms of finding his own maintenance. Not only the labour already spent, but a considerable capital sunk in

plant and in land improvement, would be lost if the stations were given up. The Melbourne Quarterly Meeting discussed the question, and advised a further trial. It was resolved to start again, under Tuckfield's sole direction, on a smaller scale. Part of the land was left to cattle-grazers for purposes of revenue, and sheep were contributed by friends of the Mission to stock the ground remaining, so that the institution might support itself. To obviate further quarrels, the Natives on the settlement were limited to a single tribe. Peace was now secured, and a fair degree of industrial efficiency attained. The report of 1845 gives indications of spiritual promise. But the hopes thus rekindled died away. The institution had now been brought within narrower limits ; in 1846 but forty-five Native residents remained on the station, half of whom were children. The letting of land to settlers had destroyed the seclusion that had been regarded as essential to success. Moreover, colonial occupation was advancing in this region, and isolation became more and more impossible. As the colonists intruded the larger bodies of the Natives withdrew, and Buntingdale came to be out of touch with its constituency and was fast losing its *raison d'être*. The Port Phillip Colony spread with surprising rapidity. The combination of adversities overcame at length Francis Tuckfield's persevering spirit. He had struggled on for five years after his companion's departure ; he now surrendered to necessity, and in 1848 removed in his turn to a colonial Circuit. The Government resumed the land it had lent ; the stock held upon it was sold, and the establishment closed. The Buntingdale Aboriginal Mission came to an end, with little or nothing to show for its ten years of patient and devoted labour. No further organized attempt at the Christianization of the Natives has been made in this part of Australia. Within the bounds of Victoria they are now reduced to insignificant numbers.

IV. When William Longbottom, bound for Western Australia, was wrecked on the South Australian coast and detained at Adelaide, the Missionary Committee consented to his remaining partly on the ground of the supposed opening for reaching the coast Natives in that direction, who had treated the shipwrecked party with kindness, and whom Longbottom had a strong desire to benefit. The needs of his fellow countrymen, and his own imperfect health, prevented his addressing

himself to this task ; and the subsequent trouble in the little Society at Adelaide probably interfered with any purpose afterwards entertained of planting a Native Mission in South Australia. At any rate, nothing was then done, and nothing seems to have been attempted since by the Methodist Church, for the Aborigines of that colony, although in its vast interior regions they are relatively numerous.

This object was in view from the commencement of the work in Western Australia. On John Smithies' arrival at the Swan River as Longbottom's substitute, in 1840, he laid himself out at the beginning to win the Aborigines, and divided his labours impartially between them and the colonists. This was a most difficult position to take, but he bore its trials with extreme patience through the twelve years of lonely toil on unproductive ground which he was called to endure. At the small settlement about the Swan River the Natives mingled more freely with the colonists than elsewhere. They were better treated, and suffered less deterioration than in New South Wales. Smithies set up a school for the Black children, which he and his wife carried on alone, with occasional volunteer assistance from Methodist settlers, while they ministered to the little English church. The day school grew into a boarding school, and, had a proper staff been provided, substantial success might have been won.

Single-handed as he was, and burdened with a double charge, discouraged and hindered by his fellow countrymen and without help from Government, this steadfast Missionary persisted in his work for the despised heathen, and attained results which his comrades in more favoured fields failed to secure. The Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, who visited Western Australia in 1850 and inspected Smithies' school, declared publicly that ' more had been well done ' for the Native people ' there than in any of the colonies eastward.' When, in 1852, a second Missionary was sent to the Swan River, the Native school was removed from Wonneroo, in the neighbourhood of Perth, to that of York, where a healthier site was found, and the Government made a grant of arable land to aid the Mission. On this inland location the Missionary was in closer touch with the Black people. Here the institution, after the first trials of migration, bade fair to prosper. Smithies remained in charge of it until his term of service in the colony ended, in the year

1855. The York Native institution was at this time handed over to the Australasian Conference, the only bit of work in progress for the Aborigines which the Missionary Society had to show. Alas, it also was closed after Smithies' removal, for want of a suitable successor.

V. The indigenous people of Tasmania are regarded by ethnologists as even more primitive in type than the continental tribes. In habits and mode of life they resembled their neighbours, but seem to have been of a more simple and affable nature. They suffered from the inhumanity of the first colonists much as did the Aborigines of New South Wales, and became sullenly hostile. It is unlikely that any missionary attempt could have succeeded with them after their maltreatment; no concerted effort on their behalf was ever made.

Anyhow, their scanty numbers and feeble weapons rendered the enmity of this wretched folk almost powerless; they wandered shy and furtive over the unoccupied districts of the interior, living like wild animals rather than men. Their depredations and cattle-raids annoyed the farmers beyond bearing, and it was resolved to clear them out of the country. Governor Arthur organized for this purpose, in 1830, a great 'drive,' extending a cordon of police and military from side to side of the island so as to pen them up in a corner like sheep that they might be captured wholesale and deported. They eluded the net, and this costly attempt to round up the savages proved an ignominious failure. There was one good man on the island, a Methodist farmer of the name of Robinson, who by patient and skilful kindness had won their confidence and was known as 'the Conciliator.' Seeing that the only choice remaining for the abject remnant was removal or destruction, on the appeal of the Government he got the Blacks together by persuasion, and arranged for their peaceable deportation—the friendliness of a single Christian man accomplishing a feat that baffled the force and cunning of five thousand. They were ultimately placed on Flinders Island, where they were cared for and unmolested. But the unhappy race dwindled away, and the last of them died in 1876. 'It is a disgrace to the Christian Church,' says Canon Charles H. Robinson in the newly published *History of Christian Missions*, 'that the aboriginal population of Tasmania was exterminated, or

allowed to die out, before any missionary work had been started among them.'

Other Churches beside the Wesleyan made earnest efforts in the middle decades of last century to reclaim the Australian Aborigines, with as little success. The Missionary Threlkeld, of the London Society, raised up a Native institution at Port Macquarie, north of Sydney, where he laboured ably and devotedly for fifteen years,¹ to confess at the end his utter failure. Marsden's Parramatta school—evangelical and industrial—had to be abandoned for the reasons previously intimated. A subsequent Anglican Mission established in Wellington Valley in 1830, by co-operation of the Church Missionary Society and the New South Wales Government, met the same fate, after twelve years of strenuous labour.

No prospect being left of surmounting the difficulties from different sources in which this mission has for some time past been involved . . . the Committee have been reluctantly compelled to relinquish it.

This sorrowful sentence appears in the Church Missionary Society's Report for 1842. A German Mission carried on during the same period in Moreton Bay had no better results.

The convictions produced in the minds of Christian people by the melancholy experience above related are summed up in the conclusion of Symons' account of the Aborigines²:

A gleam of hope occasionally cheers the Missionaries; but these are not sufficient to alter the now all-but universal belief that the race are beyond the reach of Christian influence, and are insensible to Christian effort.

Yet Symons, after recounting the hindrances to Native Missions, goes on to say: 'All these gigantic obstacles would without doubt have been overcome by patient and prayerful labours.' He finds the fatal obstacle in the *cruel, vicious, unchristian* conduct of those who bear the name of Christ. This terrible indictment of his fellow countrymen by the author practically negatives the assumption of any intrinsic impossibility forbidding the salvation of the Native race. Such a confession

¹ Threlkeld, like Tuckfield at Buntingdale, reduced the native vernacular to writing, and prepared elementary Christian books for his scholars.

² See page 371 of Draper's *Life*.

of guilt demands 'works meet for repentance,' in the shape of continued efforts on the part of Australian Christendom to save a people so shamefully injured. If reparation be yet possible, surely it must be paid, at whatever cost.

The above verdict, it must be observed, was pronounced after but half a century of effort. The most patient of these first essays lasted no more than fifteen years; they were commenced in comparative ignorance of a race utterly remote in constitution from all European experience, and were conducted under conditions—arising from the character of the early White settlers—as malign as could be well conceived. To accept a final defeat in such a case would be to admit that the Methodist belief in universal redemption, in the destination of the Gospel of Christ for every people, has been mistaken; or to suppose that the colonists of Australia have committed a sin against the old inhabitants for which there is no repentance!

The early 'gleam of hope' respecting the salvability of the Australian Natives has been of late rekindled. During the last thirty years these tribes have become an object of deep interest to anthropological science. Their ideas and customs have been studied, from this point of view, with a sympathetic observation and thoroughness which might put missionary investigators to the blush.¹ They have found the Natives to possess a social organization which supplies clues to much that has been mysterious in the traditions of other races, and appears to throw light on the prehistoric state of mankind. Totemism, Tabu, Magic, Exogamy, the Matriarchate are institutions in full vigour amongst them. An altogether new respect has sprung up for a people so interesting to all thoughtful minds. Their condition can no longer be regarded as one of mere degeneracy or moral decay; in many respects it proves to be a survival of paleolithic times and of aboriginal man. In this race there have persisted through insulation primaeval conceptions of life and nature and the supernatural which elsewhere have perished. This persistence reveals so little force of discipline; amidst all that is childish, or grotesque, or repulsive in the traits of the Aborigines there is displayed a vein of imagination and moral susceptibility that is distinctly valuable.

¹ See particularly *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, by Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen.

One refuses to regard such a race as mere 'vessels of wrath, fitted for destruction.'¹

Since the failure of the earlier essays, attempts at the reclamation of the Aborigines have been renewed, in the light of past experience, with a real prospect of success. A Christian settlement for the Natives was started by Archdeacon Hale, of South Australia, in 1851, near Port Lincoln, on the Spencer Gulf. This endeavour was confronted with the old difficulties, but storms from all quarters were bravely weathered, and twenty years later a competent visitor reported the existence here of

a well-ordered community of more than 80 Aborigines and half-castes . . . living in quietness, sobriety, and godliness, employed in the various labours of a sheep-station and a cultivated farm of 200 acres.

In this spot Christianity took root amongst the Blackfellows.

Some dozen Missions of the kind are now in existence commenced within the last twenty-five years, on the northern side of the continent.² Two of these have been in operation long enough to give reasonable assurance of permanency. The elder of these two, the Mapoon Mission, situated on the York Peninsula and founded in 1890, is a Moravian enterprise supported financially by the Federated Presbyterian Churches of Australia. Its founder, James Ward, went alone amongst a tribe who, to his knowledge, had killed and eaten two White men within a short time previously. His quiet fearlessness and benign aspect cast a spell over them. Often he quelled fierce quarrels by stepping between the combatants and taking the spear from their hands, while they yielded in sheer astonishment. Ward died five years later, but his Mission was firmly established, and has now 400 Natives under its control.³ The

¹ No one can read the sketches of native character in Mrs. Anneas Gunn's books on Northern Australian life—*The Little Black Princess* and *We of the Never Never Land*—without recognizing the human worth of the Blackfellow, and without a hope that some place may be found for him, after all, in God's kindly world and Christ's wide kingdom. Jesus Christ has a Gospel for the nomad, as well as for the town-dweller and the land-tiller; and Australia may afford in her vast interior room and protection for the thousands that remain of her roving children of the desert and the forest, to whom walls are stifling and hedges make a prison.

² Here it has been possible to maintain continuous isolation from White corrupters, colonization being slow and comparatively slight in the north. Improved Government has favoured the later Native Settlements. Mrs. Gunn's pictures reflect a disposition toward the Natives on the part of the ranchers in the Northern Territory in welcome contrast to that of the New South Wales settlers of a century before.

³ See *The Romantic Story of the Mapoon Mission*, by A. Ward.

Mapoon Aborigines in the year 1905-06 contributed a sum of £4 toward Foreign Missions ! Out of this church two other Missions have grown, conducted on the same plan by the co-operation of Moravians and Presbyterians. The Yarrabah Mission, also in North Queensland, founded in 1892 by the Anglicans, has similarly succeeded in imbuing a Native community with Christian ideas and in training them to steady industry and self-respect. Three other Mission stations on these lines have been more lately planted by the English Church within the bounds of northern Australia.

In Western Australia a Mission was created by a Benedictine monk of Spanish birth named Rudesindus Salvado. This extraordinary man for three years lived amongst the savages, sharing their diet and mode of habitation. He died in 1900, after fifty-eight years devoted to this derelict people. The head quarters of Salvado's (Roman Catholic) Mission are at the Abbey of New Norcia, situated eighty-two miles from Perth ; its operations are now widely extended, and it has considerable fruit to show. The (Anglican) Archbishop of Brisbane was justified when he wrote :

These missions are refuting the oft-repeated formula that it is impossible to raise the Australian Aboriginal. . . . We wonder whether, if their natural habits and characteristics are wisely dealt with, and they are preserved from the contamination of the White man's drink and the White man's lust, the extermination of the race is after all so near.¹

The sympathetic and illuminating article on *The Australian Aborigine*, written by Joseph Bowes (Ex-President of the Queensland Conference),² shows that the Methodist Church of Australia participates in the revived hope for the Native people recently awakened in that country. An Interdenominational Committee has been formed by the Australian Churches to lay plans for joint action on behalf of the Aborigines. Methodism has undertaken the region around and behind Port Darwin as its share of the common duty.

The work of evangelizing the tribes [writes Mr. Bowes] will never succeed along the old lines. The greatest wisdom, care, experience, and tact, with infinite patience, must characterize the work if we are to

¹ *The East and the West*, April, 1907 : 'A New Mission to Australian Aborigines.'

² Contained in *A Century in the Pacific*.

succeed. The people will not be dragooned ; but they may be led. They cannot be Anglicized ; they assuredly can be Christianized. They must be allowed large liberty within their reserves, and the retention of all their customs that are not degrading or superstitious . . . they will have to be taught the holiness of labour. They have a capacity for spiritual discernment, and rapidly assimilate the simple elements of Christ's teaching. . . . The applied benign and elevating principles of Christianity are able to save our Aboriginal brethren to the uttermost.

Australian Methodism has assuredly taken heart again for her sacred task ; she has been ' baffled to fight better ' !

The census of the Australian Commonwealth estimates the total number of the Aborigines at 74,000 ; less than a century ago there were 200,000 in Queensland alone ! Six-sevenths of the survivors roam in the north and west of the continent, where colonists are scarce. Their numbers continue to decline. This has been so with all the races of the South Seas brought into contact with Europeans. The tide of diminution has now happily turned in the case of the New Zealand Maori ; its ultimate arrest in Australia must not be deemed impossible. The Aboriginal may make bold to say : ' I shall not die but live, and declare the doings of Jehovah ! '

PART II
NEW ZEALAND

I

THE STORY OF WESLEYDALE

The Maoris—Victims of Trickery—Samuel Marsden in New Zealand—The Bay of Islands Mission—Massacre—The Visit of Samuel Leigh—Its Result—‘The Napoleon of New Zealand’—James Stack—Whangaroa Bay and Wesleydale—John Hobbs—‘A bad Patch’—A Spell of Quiet—Good Progress, but a dark Horizon—Exiles—The Return to Sydney.

WHILE the Aborigines of Australia and Tasmania in natural capacity and material condition were found at the bottom of the human scale, the New Zealand Natives stood on a much higher level. The traditions of the Maoris, supported by the affinities of their speech, point to their having come from earlier homes far to the north-east in Polynesia. Here they ousted a weaker race, the Mooris, of whom a remnant survived in the Chatham Islands. The change from a tropical to a temperate climate improved the breed in robustness and energy. Amongst this people, if anywhere, the romantic ideal of ‘the noble savage’ was to be realized.¹ Their physical development was powerful and agile; their sensibilities were keen; their intelligence, within its range, was sound, and their imagination lively. They excelled in the gifts of expression, are fond of debate, and rose on occasion to a dignified and persuasive eloquence. They were capricious and changeful in mood as passionate children. The same man might be gravely gentle, a picture of good humour and amiability, one hour, and the next hour be found screaming and raging like a maniac and dealing death about him. At the same time they were capable of profound dissimulation, and enjoyed playing the actor’s part. Despite their horrible cannibalism, which was chiefly practised in war and with a sort of religious meaning, they had a place for sentiments of honour and generosity.

¹ See the description in Domett’s *Ranolf and Amohia*.

Some of the chiefs in aspect and bearing were truly majestic men, and had an air of Homeric grandeur.

They had acquired the rudiments of land-tillage (though without knowledge of the cereals), of house-building and wood-carving, of weaving and colouring; they showed a quick appreciation of civilized arts when brought to their knowledge. Without the command of metal they had carried the use of stone and wooden implements to an extraordinary pitch, and showed great manual dexterity. Their forest lore was equal to that of the North American Indians. They navigated the stormy waters around them with boldness and skill, and were expert fishers, though at a disadvantage in comparison with Polynesian sailors through their ignorance of the principle of the outrigger. Few peoples have surpassed them in warlike courage and in the mastery of the primitive weapons of the club and the spear. Living in scattered and roving tribes incessantly at war with each other, they had become adepts in fortification, and their military discipline and generalship were not to be despised. When confronted with European arms they were little daunted; with their acquisitiveness and aptitude for trading, they soon came into possession of muskets and gunpowder, and opened a formidable resistance to the White plunderer and buccaneer. The Maoris proved themselves by no means a negligible quantity; they were not to be shouldered lightly out of their own country, nor outraged and exploited with impunity.

The first explorers of the New Zealand coasts—Tasman and Cook—brought reports which told of the genial climate, the natural beauty, the richly watered and productive soil and the splendid harbours which distinguished these islands; but, at the same time, of the fierceness and cunning of the Natives. They were even credited with cannibal propensities; the stories to this effect, at first doubted, were proved to be true. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Maoris came to be better known, as English whalers carried their business into the South Pacific; the inlets of New Zealand furnished convenient havens and watering-places. Occasionally whaling-crews made longer sojourns on the coast for refitting or victualling, and managed to get into traffic with the people, who, through their instinct for trade, soon discovered that goods of the greatest value to them were to be obtained from the strangers.

Fairly treated, the Maoris were in many cases hospitable and friendly ; but they fiercely resented the trickery and violence that were often practised upon them, and were apt to visit on the next boat's crew or distressed vessel that came in their way the indignities suffered from the last-comers, retribution on the wrong-doer's tribe fulfilling their idea of communal justice. Amongst the early mariners visiting the Pacific shores were brutal and licentious men, beyond the reach of their country's laws. The desire existing on both sides for profitable commerce hardly restrained in the visitors their contempt and unscrupulous greed, nor in the Natives their thirst for revenge and plunder. The scenes of crime and bloodshed resulting from such intercourse were multiplied, and the hostility thus engendered was aggravated by the escape to New Zealand of Australian convicts, who associated with the savages to enter upon a new career of crime. The transportation of criminals from Europe spread a blight over the South Seas, and counteracted in many ways the operation of Christian Missions. From the above causes the relations between the New Zealand tribes and white people were greatly inflamed, and there were violent prejudices to be overcome when the first Missionaries arrived amongst the Maoris. It was their work, prosecuted with a heroic fortitude for twenty years before the first colonist set foot in the islands, which alone made colonial settlement and peaceful British occupation possible. Here, otherwise than in North America and Australia, the Mission to the heathen paved the way for the Mission to the colonists.

Samuel Marsden was the father of Christian Missions in New Zealand, as in Australia. The interest of this kindly and enterprising Methodist clergyman in the people of the former country was awakened by the following train of circumstances. In 1793 a couple of Maoris were captured and carried to Norfolk Island—a dependency of New South Wales—in order to teach the Natives there the method of treating the wild flax, out of which the New Zealanders produced serviceable fabrics. Two young chiefs who were abducted proved useless for the purpose, as the accomplishment desired was practised only by Maori women and slaves. The kidnapped youths were repatriated ; and this act, accompanied by a present of live stock, gave satisfaction to Te Pahe, a leading Maori chief, who entered

into friendly relations with the New South Wales Governor, paying him a visit at Sydney some years later, accompanied by his four sons. Marsden met the distinguished visitors, and was strongly impressed by their bearing and by the information they gave him, forming a high opinion of the capabilities of the race they represented. Governor King, in reporting to England the visit of Te Pahe, speaks of him as 'this worthy and respectable chief.'

On visiting England in 1808, Marsden communicated to the Church Missionary Society his knowledge of the New Zealanders and his views respecting their Christianization. He had adopted the rationalistic idea, at that time advocated in high quarters, that industrial must precede religious improvement.

I recommend [he says] that three mechanics should be appointed to make the first attempt, should the Society come to the determination to form an establishment in New Zealand—a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a twine-spinner.¹ . . . The attention of the heathen can be gained, and their vagrant habits corrected, only by the arts. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel.

In other respects Marsden's advice and suggestions for the Maori Mission show much good sense as well as earnestness.

The Church Missionary Society welcomed Marsden's proposals, and resolved to assist him. In 1809 he returned to Sydney, accompanied by William Hall, carpenter, and John King, flax-spinner—the first appointed New Zealand Missionaries (they were called 'agents,' however, the more honourable name being reserved for clergymen). Thomas Kendall, a schoolmaster with some knowledge of farming, was sent to complete the trio a little later.² On the outward voyage they discovered amongst the sailors, in miserable plight, a Maori chief named Ruatara, working his passage homewards, who in some strange way had been carried to England and cast adrift there after much ill-usage. To this unhappy man Marsden played the Good Samaritan—an act of humanity which proved of great advantage to the Mission.

Marsden and his companions had intended to proceed at once to New Zealand. But there awaited them the shocking

¹ The instructions given to Hall and King, on the theory that religion was to be propagated amongst barbarians through the medium of secular industry, and that Christian doctrine should be postponed to practice, are very interesting; see the *History of the C.M.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 206-7. This method was soon abandoned.

² Kendall was subsequently ordained.

news of the massacre of the crew of the *Boyd*, followed by the devouring of many of their bodies, which put a stop to the whole adventure. This horrible deed, in which Te Pahe's people shared, was an act of reprisal for the flogging of a chief returning home on the *Boyd*, inflicted by order of the captain. Te Pahe had besought Governor King to stop this kind of outrage, too common on board English ships, which stung the Natives to madness; and a proclamation had been issued with this intent. A British squadron wreaked summary vengeance on the Maoris near the scene of the murder; they burnt down Te Pahe's village, though the chief had exerted himself to restrain his fellow countrymen and had saved the lives of some of the sailors.

The exasperation on both sides was now more bitter than ever. Only with difficulty and after much delay could Ruatara be restored to his people. He persuaded them to welcome the missionary settlers; but the New South Wales people remonstrated against their going. Marsden was forbidden leave of absence, and a storm of abuse and calumny fell upon him. Traders and colonists thought of nothing but the extermination of the cannibals. At last it was possible to send Kendall and Hall across to reconnoitre; on their return, accompanied by Ruatara and other chiefs bearing an invitation to New Zealand, the missionary party was allowed to set sail. Beside the Sydney chaplain and the three lay agents already named, with their wives and children, six mechanics were enlisted in the colony for the expedition.¹ The courage and faith of these adventurers for Christ deserves the highest praise. They landed at the Bay of Islands, which is situated on the eastern side of the long northward promontory projecting from the Auckland isthmus, toward the end of December. On Christmas Day, 1814, the first Christian message was delivered on New Zealand soil, conveyed by the text of Luke ii. 10: 'Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy!' Marsden returned to Sydney two months later, bringing with him several youths for instruction, sons of island chiefs, for whom he set up a seminary at Parramatta. Before he returned home his friend Ruatara had died, through injuries received at British hands.

The Bay of Islands Mission struck root. Kendall, a clever

¹ The ship carried in addition a horse and a pair of oxen—the first seen in the islands and a great wonder to the people. The pig they were familiar with; imported by Captain Cook, this animal had overrun the Northern Island.

man who soon acquired the Maori tongue,¹ became linguist, farmer and planter, and business-manager, as well as school-master, to the settlement. His two English colleagues were laborious workmen and good Christians, patient and exemplary in their dealings with the Natives. Within two or three years the establishment grew into material prosperity and attracted the admiration of heathen, who were in some respects humanized by its influence²; the discipline of school told upon the children. But religious results were slow to appear; it was not until eleven years later, when Missionaries proper had been for some time at work, that the first Maori conversion to the faith of Christ was reported. When Samuel Leigh, at Marsden's instance, visited the Mission in 1818, he found it doing little to spread the saving knowledge of Christ. Great as his admiration for the founder was, he came to the conclusion that the basis of the enterprise was unsound—that he was putting second things in the first place. He attempted, and in some measure succeeded, in remedying the defect, drawing up a little Circuit-plan for the Mission agents and inducing them to pay regular visits to the villages within their sphere of influence, and to hold worship with the grown-up savages, beside instructing the children in school. Some of them were incapacitated for this duty by incompetence in language. Leigh returned to the colony little refreshed in body, having found his New Zealand voyage the opposite of a holiday-trip, but with his soul fired by the thought of preaching Christ to the Maoris, and resolved to win his Church to this enterprise. Next year (1819) Marsden paid his second visit to New Zealand, and planted the first Christian Minister, John Butler, who officiated on the islands. He added to his little colony at this time some twenty new settlers, to provide for whom he bought a large acreage of excellent land from the Natives. With the arrival of Henry Williams³ in 1823 the Church Mission acquired an effective spiritual head.

Leigh's health was far from being re-established; by the

¹ Thomas Kendall drew up the first grammar and vocabulary of the Maori language, published in 1818.

² Notwithstanding, Leigh, on entering a village near the settlement soon after his coming, found a dozen preserved human heads laid out by the path for his inspection. The people were offering them for sale! Ship-captains frequently bought these ghastly objects and took them home, to be disposed of as New Zealand curios.

³ Henry and his brother, William Williams, spent a long and richly fruitful life in the work of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. William Williams was the first Bishop of Waiapu.

beginning of 1820 he was reduced to such a state of weakness that his friends insisted on his taking a voyage to England. He was the more willing to go as this would give him the opportunity of laying the case of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands before the Missionary Society. The needs of the latter field, to which the way appeared to be reopened after the repulse of the London Society's Missionaries, had recently been pressed on the Sydney Methodists. Walter Lawry was bent on this undertaking, as his senior colleague was on the evangelization of the Maoris. The invalid's health speedily recovered under the skilled medical treatment received at home, and he addressed himself to the new endeavours.

Leigh laid his proposals before the authorities at Hatton Garden, who looked at him with consternation. 'Sir,' said Secretary Taylor, 'what are you talking about? With a debt of £10,000¹ we are not in a condition either to enlarge the old, or undertake the establishment of new, Missions.' Leigh retired disconcerted, and found all attempts to reopen the subject in vain. Day and night he brooded and prayed over the charge that had been laid upon him. At last, one morning, he awoke with the thought that it was not money, but money's value, that was needed. Any cash obtained to finance the Mission must be turned into goods in dealing with the Natives. Why should he not try to secure *the goods* directly? People might contribute in kind, who would be slow to open their purses for foreign missionary objects. Armed with this novel suggestion, Leigh returned to the attack. Permission was given him, with no very sanguine expectations, to make the attempt. His first appeals at public meetings in the north of England succeeded beyond hope, and the Liverpool Conference of 1820 sanctioned the project, on his statement of the case. It was understood that Leigh would himself conduct the Mission to New Zealand, and that Lawry would captain the Tongan expedition.

During the ensuing autumn and winter Leigh had a marvellous campaign in the provinces, especially in the manufacturing districts. Lancashire and Yorkshire poured goods for the

¹ The magnitude of this adverse balance, which had accumulated in a few years notwithstanding the rapid increase in the Society's income, was due to the number of new Missions simultaneously opened, and to the heavy expense of some of them—particularly of the Ceylon and New South Wales ventures—which had far exceeded the official calculations.

South Seas on the Mission House in tons, so that warehouse-room could hardly be found for them. Some disquieting criticism afterwards arose from this unusual mode of floating Missions ; it was impossible to trace the disposal of the several articles contributed, or to present an audited balance-sheet of the transaction ; but, as Leigh's biographer writes, the evidence is ample that

there was no profligate expenditure. The goods were received as a sacred deposit ; they were shipped to New South Wales, and reshipped as they were required to New Zealand. They furnished the means for purchasing a missionary estate there, for erecting premises for the purposes of the Mission, and for building preaching and school-houses in the adjacent villages ; and were laid out with such prudence and judgement that they almost entirely supported the Mission for five years.¹

About this time a visit was paid to England by a couple of New Zealand chiefs named Hongi and Waikato, who came under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, and were conducted by its agent, Thomas Kendall.² Hongi, the uncle of Marsden's protégé Ruatara, was an extraordinary man—the Napoleon of New Zealand. A powerful chief, with possessions extending across the breadth of the Northern Island, he was already famous and dreaded amongst the Native warriors. His character exhibited the strange contradictions of the Maori nature. A cannibal amongst cannibals, ferocious in battle to the last degree and ruthless in his ambitions, he was yet capable of kindness and loyalty, and in peace wore mild and amiable manners. He was lionized by English society, and made a most favourable impression on his reception at Court. He gave it out that he was only anxious for the civilization of his people, and greatly desired the introduction of Missionaries and schoolmasters. His presence and conduct in England undoubtedly helped the missionary appeal for New Zealand. He had interviews with the Committees of both the Societies

¹ *Life of the Rev. S. Leigh*, by Alexander Strachan, p. 126. The 'almost entirely' of Strachan's last sentence would appear, from the Mission House records, to be somewhat beyond the mark. The goods contributed were appropriated carefully to their intended use, and went far to meet the foundation expenses of the Mission.

² Of Kendall we have already written. This able man turned out a renegade, and had to be dismissed by the C.M.S. after his return to New Zealand. He was proved to have abetted, if he did not instigate, Hongi's criminal designs, and assisted him to secure munitions. The trade with the Natives in muskets and gunpowder was very lucrative, and missionary agents were strictly forbidden to have any part in it. Kendall had yielded to this temptation.

concerned, who made him valuable gifts and counted on his support—at Hatton Garden the two chiefs were addressed as ‘our friends and brothers.’ To Mr. Leigh, whom he had met on a visit of the latter to the Bay of Islands, Hongi paid particular deference, and insisted on sharing his lodgings while in London. All the time, with deep duplicity, he was laying plans for the war of conquest on which he embarked so soon as he had returned home.¹ At Sydney he began to throw off the mask, turning the costly presents he had received into money for the purchase of arms.² He retained, however, his friendship for Leigh, and assumed the rôle of protector both of the Anglican and Wesleyan Missions. But the dreadful war in which Hongi embroiled north New Zealand was destined to wreck Leigh’s Mission; it threw back the Christianization of the islands for many years.

Samuel Leigh arrived at Sydney on his return from England in September, 1821, bearing the title of ‘General Superintendent of Missions to New Zealand and the Friendly Islands.’ Lawry was preparing to set out to the latter station, while Leigh made his arrangements to occupy the former. William White, who had been appointed as Leigh’s assistant, arrived on the scene some time later. Leigh brought from England a wife to share his adventure for Christ—a lady of courage and endurance equal to his own, who doubled his efficiency. Just before their leaving Sydney news arrived of the

¹ Hongi was not the first to use fire-arms in Maori warfare. A neighbour chief, a few years earlier, getting hold of three muskets and a supply of gunpowder, had won a great victory, driving everything before him! The Bay of Islands settlement, which was formed on Hongi’s territory, had not long been founded when the chief raised a dispute with Marsden on this question, threatening to stop the Mission by refusing all labour and supplies save in exchange for munitions. ‘If you can keep your fire-arms out of the country altogether,’ he said, ‘I am satisfied; but having allowed them to reach your enemies and mine (for this, of course, the Mission was not responsible), why do you so foolishly insist on keeping your friends without them?’ Marsden stood firm in his decision to keep the Mission clear of the trade in muskets and gunpowder. After this discussion Hongi determined upon his visit to England. The death of the gentle Ruatara had removed a check on his uncle’s violence and ambition.

² Under Mr. Marsden’s roof at Parramatta Hongi gave a declaration of war to Hinaki, a neighbouring New Zealand chief whom he happened to find there—a man of singular physical beauty and strength. They travelled home on the same vessel, and Hinaki sought every means to placate his rival, but to no purpose. Hostilities shortly broke out, and the unfortunate Hinaki, overpowered by the invaders’ guns, fell in the battle, when Hongi rushed on his victim, scooped out his eye and swallowed it, and drank the blood gushing from his throat! When the Missionary afterwards upbraided him he replied: ‘We must observe our country’s customs—and the blood of Hinaki was sweet!’ Such was the patron on whose support the Mission had counted. This crisis came about some time after Leigh commenced his work. A thousand of Hinaki’s tribe fell on the battle-field, and three hundred were devoured in the orgy which followed.

Maori war, but Mr. and Mrs. Leigh were not to be deterred. They embarked at Port Jackson on the last day of 1821, and on February 22 of the following year their ship cast anchor in the Bay of Islands. Leigh himself was known to many of the Natives, who shared in the welcome given to him by his Anglican friends. The Maoris showed their joy in the accustomed fashion—'by rubbing noses and shedding a profusion of tears.' According to previous arrangement, the Leighs stayed at the Church Mission until the site of the Wesleyan station should be determined and the way should be clear for their independent work.

Hongi's return with ample munitions had brought about a disastrous change in the political situation. He was still vexed with the Bay of Islands settlers, because they opposed the importation of fire-arms. Observing his ill-temper, the Natives showed toward the Missionaries an unwonted insolence, and the procuring of labour became difficult. Thefts from the mission premises and other damages were multiplied; obstructions were thrown in the way of the Mission work. Leigh at last went to lodge a complaint before the chief-paramount, who was then preparing for his campaign against Hinaki, at the same time consulting him respecting the situation of his Mission. Hongi replied to this effect :

Mr. Leigh, I have grateful recollection of your kindness to me when I was in your country. I will not suffer a hand to touch you—Hongi has said it ! You are making preparations, I hear, for commencing your Mission amongst the tribes at the River Thames and Mercury Bay¹ ; that Mission will not now be necessary, as I intend to sweep that people from the face of the earth. I would advise you to go to Ho-do-do, where my sister resides and where you will obtain protection. But, to be plain with you, since you stand in the way of our obtaining muskets and powder, we New Zealanders hate both your worship and your God. In our very hearts we hate them. They are not like ours.

Then, as though he had gone too far in self-disclosure, Hongi added more mildly : ' When we have seen more of the Europeans we may perhaps change our opinion.'

This was not a promising outlook. The Mercury Bay site

¹ Marsden had recommended this very desirable situation, which lay some distance south of the Bay of Islands and afforded convenient access through a fertile valley to the interior. Captain Cook gave the River ' Thames ' its name, anticipating that the future capital of the country would be placed upon it. Leigh appears to have made some arrangement with Hinaki when they met in Sydney. Possibly this negotiation went to inflame Hongi's jealousy.

for the Mission was perforce abandoned. Hongi was as good as his word, and Hinaki's people on that coast were wiped out a few months later. Leigh's own boat was commandeered for the expedition. During the five years of desolating wars which followed, though the Church Mission at the Bay of Islands was harassed and its work confined to narrow limits, it held its ground and was never exposed to military attack. One important gain issued from so many calamities—Hongi formed at the Bay of Islands a *dépôt* for his prisoners-of-war, captured from tribes spread over most of the North Island, whom he reduced to slavery. These the Missionaries had the opportunity of befriending and instructing. The hearts of many were touched by the kindness shown them, and their minds opened to the new light. Conveyed as bondmen to distant places, or returning home on liberation after Hongi's fall, they carried the knowledge of Christ's name afar, and prepared the way for His messengers. The ministry rendered in the prisoners' camp had much to do with the rapid spread of Christianity in later years.

Mercury Bay being barred against him, Leigh set out exploring in other directions, but was hampered for lack of a colleague, White's coming being indefinitely postponed. In this emergency James Stack, a young lay friend from New South Wales, volunteered his assistance. Stack was one of two Methodist brothers who had emigrated from Portsmouth to Australia not long before this time. He had listened to Leigh's addresses in the colony, and after the departure of the latter was moved by the Spirit of God to follow him. A free passage to the islands being offered by a friendly merchant, Stack took advantage of it forthwith. He presented himself unannounced to the astonished Missionary :

I am come [said he] from a sense of duty to share in your labours and trials, and intend to make myself useful in any occupation for which you may consider me qualified. My first business, I suppose, will be to learn the language, for then I can work on the week-days and preach Christ on the Sundays.

Stack was an educated man, employed as a Government surveyor in Australia, and proved apt in language-study. A good accountant and man of business, he was able to relieve Leigh, much to the latter's comfort, in this direction. In many

ways he showed himself an obliging and devoted companion—the very helper the Missionary needed. He had the gift of preaching, and in due course qualified for the ministry. For some years James Stack remained attached to the New Zealand Mission after Leigh's retirement, but on his visit to England in 1831 he was led through circumstances to seek a transfer to the Church Missionary Society. The harassing delay in fixing their own location was not lost time; it gave Mr. and Mrs. Leigh an opportunity to get a substantial hold of the Maori speech, of which the former had gained a smattering during his former sojourn at the Bay of Islands.

In July of that year the Mission party were cheered by the appearance in the Bay of the ship *St. Michael*, which had been chartered to convey Walter Lawry and his wife to Tongatabu, and brought welcome supplies for the Leighs. The meeting was a mutual refreshment. But a serious vexation arose from this visit. In bartering for provisions some of the ship's officers, against their instructions, yielded to the solicitations of the Natives for guns and powder. This disloyal 'gun-running' not only increased the peril to the lives of the Missionaries, but aggravated their difficulties in dealing with the Maoris; already the Mission had been boycotted, so far as the procuring of flesh-meat was concerned, because it would not traffic in this commodity. Not long after this Leigh and Hall narrowly escaped murder by a company of savages, because of their refusal to part with an axe they happened to be using. Missionaries at first had freely disposed of such tools by gift or barter, until they found them turned into lethal weapons. 'Muskets and powder' the Maoris clamoured for when the White man attempted a bargain of any sort. Hongi had taught them to regard European arms as the one thing needful for security and power.

Amid such conditions Leigh would have been well advised to defer establishing any new Mission until the war was over, meantime assisting his friends at the Bay of Islands and perfecting his own preparation. But to this course he could not reconcile himself. He had strong faith in a protecting providence, and felt bound by duty to his own Society to proceed at all hazards. His voyages of investigation were attended with constant danger; repeatedly his life was threatened. Almost everywhere he found the people distracted, and ready

to be stirred to murderous rage by any untoward accident. At Ho-do-do, however, Hongi's sister gave the visitors a joyful reception, and 'the barbarous people showed no little kindness.' Here the disposition of the Natives was most promising, but the situation was judged on several accounts very unsuitable. Again and again, in other quarters, the voyagers were met with mockery and threats. Sixteen months passed away before any decision could be reached.

Toward the end of May, 1823, the *St. Michael* touched at the Bay of Islands on her way back from Tonga to Sydney. Leigh detained her to assist him in farther exploration. The district first reconnoitred on this vessel was found depopulated by the war; the few Natives met with were friendly, and wept on the Missionary's departure. As a last hope it was determined to try Whangaroa Bay, the scene of the *Boyd* massacre, a second time, although Leigh, on the earlier attempt, had barely escaped with his life. The position was in many ways particularly attractive, the Whangaroa district being healthy, fertile, and comparatively populous, and distant only thirty-five miles north-west from the head quarters of the Bay of Islands Mission. The Harbour was one of the best in the South Seas, and in the highway of navigation. Possibly the Natives would prove more hospitable on a second appeal. Accordingly, Leigh, accompanied by several of the Bay of Islands staff, embarked again for this beautiful but ill-famed bay, having the *St. Michael* still at his service. This time the people, some of whom recognized Leigh from his former visit and raised cries of welcome, though importunate in their demand for muskets, were in an affable mood. Permission was given for the Missionary's residence at a lovely spot seven miles up the river, where two brother-chiefs lived, Te Puihi and Te Ara by name, at the head of a considerable tribe.

The latter of the two, known to English traders as 'George,' was the chieftain whose flogging on board the *Boyd* resulted in the tragedy related on an earlier page. George had visited Sydney and had picked up a little English, along with a knowledge of the White man's wickedness. Their subsequent behaviour throws a sinister light on the motives of this pair of brothers. They probably wished to have within their reach a store of European goods, of which by fair means or foul they might avail themselves; and they expected to profit by the

improvements which the Missionaries would introduce in the way of building and cultivation of the soil. The Bay of Islands supplied a striking example of this benefit. The manners of Te Ara—the younger, but the higher in rank and power—exhibited a contrast resembling that described in the case of Hongi, but his temper was even more uncertain ; and there was a meanness about his craft, and a childishness in his fits of passion, from which the great warrior was free. The Mission was to be at the mercy of this plausible barbarian's caprice.

Notwithstanding the ship-captain's warnings, it was decided to accept the invitation of Te Puhi and Te Ara, and Leigh gave the name of *Wesleydale* to the valley which was now to be his home and the first seat of Methodism in New Zealand. Two ominous occurrences disquieted the party. A booth was erected for shelter on the plot selected for the Mission house, but a storm of rain arising in the night swept away the frail structure, and with it some valuable stores. The sleepers barely escaped the flood streaming down the hillside, and some of them suffered severely through the exposure. Native onlookers had intimated the danger as the building proceeded, but their advice passed unheeded. This misfortune brought a loss of prestige added to the material damage. The rainy season had now set in, and the more permanent dwelling, reared on higher ground with the help of Natives under the ship-carpenter's direction, was built under disadvantageous conditions. Pending its completion, the Missionaries sheltered in a canvas tent far from waterproof, and sickness attacked them. Still there was no thought of retreat. Meantime another incident transpired, calculated to excite the darkest forebodings. One Sunday a war-canoe unexpectedly appeared, returning from some foray with a cargo of prisoners intended for slaves. One of these was forthwith killed, roasted, and eaten by the villagers, unabashed by European company, to celebrate the victory. Not without cause had the Whangaroa Natives earned the title of ' the man-eating tribes.'

The captain of the *St. Michael* made haste to weigh anchor, taking on board the Bay of Islands visitors, with the exception of one couple, who stayed with the Leighs till their departure. Mrs. Leigh would not be separated from her husband. The faithful James Stack stood by them, and the

serviceable Luke Wade, a hearty sailor who attached himself to the Mission in the capacity of handy-man. The two latter remained on the ground until the destruction of Wesleydale in 1827. William White, who, leaving England early in the previous year, had been detained to assist the New South Wales staff, joined his colleague before the end of June. All lived under one roof, and with a strict domestic order. The Mission was now strong enough to have made an effective beginning, had the conditions been in any way favourable. But the household was exposed to continual thieving and molestations, which it had no means of preventing, and which the chiefs either could not or would not repress. In the intercourse of the Missionaries with the principal chiefs themselves scenes of wild passion and threats—sometimes even acts—of violence alternated with tearful apologies and language of affection. Disgusting cruelties and indecencies were almost daily witnessed, reproof being commonly wasted breath.¹ The calmest faith, the strongest nerve, were scarcely proof against the peril of death contemplated in hideous forms which surrounded this isolated company day and night. Twice during Leigh's brief sojourn at Wesleydale hostile parties visited Whangaroa, and massacre appeared imminent. A murderous conflict was prevented with difficulty, the mediator in one instance suffering personal violence. On another occasion the Mission house was assaulted in a mad quarrel between Te Ara and Te Puhi.

Leigh's powers of endurance had been strained by the suspense and the toilsome journeys undergone during the months of delay at the Bay of Islands, and the experiences of Whangaroa told on him heavily. Mrs. Leigh was now the more energetic of the two; her buoyant spirit sustained the courage of the party, and her ingenuity delivered them from desperate domestic plights. She speedily gained influence over the savage women, and initiated the more capable into the

¹ One day a chief was rebuked for some shocking barbarity inflicted on his slave, when he retorted in a paroxysm of indignation: 'You talk of crime and cruelty to me! I have been in New South Wales and witnessed the amusements, drunkenness, and riots of white men. They curse, they steal, they kill. Go and teach your countrymen your religion. Your own people will not embrace your Christianity. You speak of cruelty! I saw them hang a white man in Sydney, and never did I witness so horrible a spectacle. They kept him in prison several days after they told him he must die—was not that cruel? They brought him out alive, and hung him up before all the people—was there no cruelty in that?' Here was the Maori cannibal rising up in judgement against the English Christian! It was difficult to answer.

mysteries of needlecraft. Horrified at the infanticide which was openly practised, she found that the present of frocks for the new-born infants could be made a means of salvation, stirring in the mothers a pride over their decorated offspring, and so giving maternal affection time to awaken. When, in a few weeks the naturally clever Maori girls were able to cut out and stitch together some sort of baby-garments, the delight was immense, and portended a social revolution. Mrs. Leigh's sewing-class, which no girl was allowed to attend without a preliminary use of soap and water, was a shining success. The fencing, gardening, and ploughing operations of the male members of the Mission attracted similar admiration, and their results were readily appreciated. The Maori savage, at his worst, was open to appeal upon the practical side, and would listen to the teachings of the Christian faith when attended with good works of agricultural and domestic industry. Despite the wretched moral and physical surroundings of Wesleydale and the sufferings of its pioneers—sufferings scarcely exceeded in the first attempts of any other Mission—the Wesleydale experiment bore the promise of success; it was no miscalculated venture.

Its breakdown seemed, however, imminent when, a couple of months after his arrival, the strength of the leader collapsed. The winter rains of that season were exceptionally heavy. Hastily built and damp to begin with—a wooden frame, thatched for walls and roof with rushes—the Mission house was far from weatherproof. The sick Missionary, prostrated with fever, could find no dry spot for his bed, until he crawled into a large empty cask which had served as a packing-case. The habitual pilferings of the Natives aggravated the straits of housekeeping, and made life a scene of continual irritation, only to be endured by a man in robust health and high spirits. Manifestly, Leigh himself was unequal to the conflict—indeed, he began to despair of life. By this time William White, so long expected, had joined the Mission. A man of sturdy strength, he resolved to hold the fort, if his chief must depart, despite his inexperience. Stack was there, to make up his deficiency in this respect. Fortunately other helpers within a few weeks made their appearance. On August 6 the people at the Mission house, busy with repairs, heard the shout '*Pakeha!*' (Europeans!). Looking down the valley, they

saw a couple of strange white faces approaching. The strangers proved to be Nathaniel Turner and John Hobbs, who three days before had disembarked at the Bay of Islands and had footed it overland with a Native guide. Mrs. Turner and the Mission stores were to follow later by sea.

The Missionary Committee, encouraged after its first reluctance by the popularity of Leigh's appeal for the heathen of the South Seas, threw much energy into the prosecution of the New Zealand Mission. White's designation for this work by the Conference of 1821 was followed by the appointment of Nathaniel Turner a few months later. They sailed from London together in February, 1822,¹ about the time of Leigh's departure from Sydney for New Zealand. The two young Missionaries were employed at Hobart Town or Sydney, where help was much needed, for a year or so—it was useless forwarding them onwards till Leigh had decided on his location. So soon as this point was settled, White was dispatched to the front at once; the Turner couple followed eight weeks later. The latter had won golden opinions in Sydney.

Mr. and Mrs. Turner sailed with Samuel Marsden, who was now making his third voyage to New Zealand, coming to inspect the Bay of Islands settlement and to bring fresh supplies and reinforcements.² This good man, now approaching his sixtieth year, supported the New Zealand undertaking with wonderful vigour and an enthusiasm proof against every disappointment.

Beside Nathaniel Turner another Methodist Missionary was conducted by Marsden to New Zealand. This was John Hobbs, who, like James Stack, volunteered from the colony for the New Zealand work. Hobbs, the second founder of Methodism in this country, a native of Kent and a blacksmith by trade, was a man of sterling qualities—of good sense and good humour, of strict fidelity, of great working power, clever alike with his hands and his tongue. Little favoured in point of education, he was a born linguist. He had volunteered for foreign service in England, and his offer was favourably

¹ Strong representations had been made from New South Wales as to the undesirability of sending unmarried Missionaries to that quarter. William White's departure had been postponed on this account, but he could not find a partner to suit him, and Richard Watson writes with some vexation complaining of his 'capriciousness!' He went out after all a single man. Four years later he returned to England, without leave, in order to remedy the defect. He had been allowed to visit New South Wales for the purpose, and extended the permission. He was a strong, shrewd, and capable man, but not very tractable.

² Henry Williams was a fellow passenger with Turner and Hobbs on the *Brompton*.

entertained. But delay arising, he sailed on his own account to Van Diemen's Land, where he made himself remarkably useful in local preaching. Marsden, the Sydney chaplain, meeting him there, was struck with his ability, and offered him a post in the Anglican Mission. He preferred to remain a Methodist, and elected to join Nathaniel Turner, then on the point of setting out to New Zealand. Raised to the ministry in 1824 on Turner's recommendation, he survived till 1883, assisting at the formation of the Australasian Conference and devoting a full life to the work of God in the South Seas. He ranked for many years as District Chairman, and was the first appointed Governor of the Maori Native Institution (1855). Shortly after the last-mentioned date John Hobbs was compelled to 'sit down,' and enjoyed a long and pleasant eventide in his adopted country.

The coming of Turner and Hobbs caused a commotion at Whangaroa, especially when it was known that they had sailed with Mr. Marsden, who was accounted a great chief in the island. Te Ara, on being informed that the captain of the *Brompton* was afraid to bring his passengers round to Whangaroa because of the bad reputation of the people, flew into a rage, and insisted that Mr. Leigh should 'write instantly, and let them know that if they come not you shall all go!' Nine days later a Government sloop sailed into the harbour, bringing the honoured visitor, under whose charge Mrs. Turner also arrived. The Wesleydale Maoris paid the most respectful attention to Mr. Marsden, who carefully inspected the Mission, 'and expressed his astonishment that such an amount of work should have been accomplished in so short a time and by so few hands.' He inquired into the conduct of the Natives, the situation and disposition of the neighbouring tribes, and the progress of the Missionaries in the Maori tongue. Nothing was wanting to show his friendship toward the Methodist Mission, his desire to further its prosperity and to impress the Native people in its favour.

It was clear both to Marsden, his friend and adviser, and to his young colleagues that Leigh must be removed immediately. The latter held a meeting at which they formally declared that

Brother Leigh should go by the ship *Brompton* to Port Jackson, and secure the medical treatment he so obviously requires, but which cannot be obtained in this country.

It was a hard sentence for the sick man ; he saw signs of a softening in the hard and crime-stained nature of the Whangaroa Maoris ; he felt sure that his sufferings would bear fruit in conversions amongst them before long ; but he must needs admit that he could expect no recovery of health in his present surroundings, and that a prompt removal afforded the only hope of future service to the cause so dear to him. It was arranged that he should return forthwith to Sydney under Mr. Marsden's care. The chief Te Puhi was surprisingly affected by the removal of the man whose patience he had so grievously tried.

Go to New South Wales [he said in broken accents], get better, and come back to us soon. If you do, I will not go to war any more ; I will stay at home and plant *kumaras* (sweet potatoes).

Despite his evil ways and fits of truculence, the kindness of the Missionary and his wife had touched the fickle barbarian's heart. The Bay of Islanders sailed homewards on August 19, taking Mr. and Mrs. Leigh with them, who now looked on Wesleydale and Whangaroa for the last time.

Marsden's departure for Sydney was delayed for some weeks. He had several interviews with Hongi, labouring to persuade him to lay down the sword. For the time the missionary father's pleadings appeared to prevail.

My chiefs tell me [the warrior confessed] that they want no more war, and I have myself suffered so much during the late fighting, notwithstanding my victories, that I am satisfied there is no good in war—none, none at all !

The ruling passion, however, soon broke out again ; northern New Zealand was plunged once more in blood through Hongi's pride and lust of conquest. Marsden asked him how, in certain eventualities, he would act by the two Missions, which might be in his way. With a tone of contempt he answered : ' Hongi has said long since that the Missionaries at the Bay of Islands and Whangaroa shall be protected.' This intention was doubtless sincere, and Hongi did not wish his pledge in the latter case to be understood as a mere promise of personal safety to Leigh, to whom he was bound by a debt of honour.

The *Brompton* sailed for Sydney on September 7, having on board, along with Marsden and the Leighs, several Maori chiefs,

whose sons had died at Parramatta and who desired to recover their bones that they might lay them in the ancestral sepulchres. These men were shocked at the captain's weighing anchor on the Sabbath. They blamed Mr. Marsden for allowing this in contradiction to his teaching about the sacredness of the day, and regretted their embarking. The captain, they were sure, was under his orders ; one of them said : ' Mr. Marsden, you do wrong, and if your God be like the New Zealand god, He will kill your ship ! ' Strange to say, the sails had scarcely filled when an adverse gale sprang up, which drove the vessel on to the rocks before she could clear the bay. The Missionaries and Mrs. Leigh were at once taken off in the ship's boat, which landed them with the utmost difficulty amidst the storm four miles away, on a desolate island, without provisions. The boat returned to the ship, now fast breaking up, to carry the crew and the rest of the passengers in another direction. By a good providence the storm drove to the Missionaries' isle of refuge a Native canoe, which furnished a supply of food and carried news of the shipwreck to their friends. Three days and nights they remained here, in such rude shelter as could be extemporized, until they were taken off by a rescuing party dispatched from the Church Mission. The chief Te Ara, on hearing of the disaster, was in wild distraction between grief over the misfortune to his ' parents, Marsden and Leigh,' and delight at the punishment which had fallen upon the ship-captain, who had passed a slight on himself and his people by refusing to enter Whangaroa harbour !

In the wreck of the *Brompton* Leigh and his wife lost their belongings, escaping with bare life. He reached Sydney in the month of November, a physically shattered man. The physician gave him a hope of a complete cure, but he lay for months disabled, and in distressing pain. Gradually, in the course of the next year, he found strength to resume preaching, and was put in charge of a New South Wales Circuit. For seven years thereafter he continued to labour in the colony, interesting himself greatly in attempts to reach the Aborigines and helping his brethren in New Zealand so far as he could from a distance. But his old vigour was gone ; Samuel Leigh was a prematurely aged man.

Leigh left at Wesleydale an orphaned household. James Stack, who had spent in New Zealand scarcely a year, was the

most experienced of the party. He had acquired some facility in the language, and was versed in the business affairs of the Mission. But his status was still that of a lay agent—in 1825 he was received as a Missionary Minister on probation. Hobbs stood in the like position until the Conference of 1824. White and Turner were ordained Ministers; the former, as senior of the two, became the official head of the Mission. On Mrs. Turner, who had an infant child to nurse, domestic oversight devolved, with the direction of the work amongst the Native women so vigorously commenced by Mrs. Leigh. The family consisted of eight souls—beside the four Missionaries, Mrs. Turner, and Luke Wade, the man of all work, there was Betsy, the Turners' English maid from Sydney. Some half-dozen Native young people, of both sexes, lived in the establishment, receiving regular teaching and helping in domestic service as they were able. Amongst these were chiefs' children, who became in several instances much attached to the Mission.

An exemplary order of life was maintained, in which great importance was attached to the morning and evening family prayer. To this daily worship the Natives near were admitted, as freely as circumstances allowed; they commonly behaved with decorum, but took the opportunity now and then for their tricks of purloining. All Methodist ordinances were faithfully observed by the 'Church in the house.'¹ Sunday preachings were held, in which the use of Maori was gradually extended. A number of little schools were set up in the neighbourhood, Stack's knowledge of the vernacular being serviceable in this department. It was not difficult to gather children—a genuine respect was felt for the knowledge and skill of the *Pakeha*—but to secure regularity in attendance or order in behaviour was next to impossible, parental control being a thing unknown in Maori families. On June 13, 1824, a year after the coming of the Mission, two school-chapels were dedicated to the worship of God, built mainly by the Missionaries' hands. They were situated at the two principal villages, where Te Ara and Te Puhi lived. These were the mother Wesleyan churches of New Zealand.

On the elders the spiritual impression produced during

¹ Turner writes: 'We could only keep our own souls alive by regular and sincere attention to the English services amongst ourselves. Generally our most soul-stirring services were our Class-meetings on Saturday nights. Oh, what seasons of humiliation, gratitude, love, and prayer were these!'

the three years and a half of hard toil at Whangaroa was, to all appearance, slight and uncertain. The Mission had struck upon one of the worst patches of Maori life in all New Zealand. The experience of the Leighs continued for their successors; it was even aggravated by Leigh's departure, since less reverence was felt for the new-comers, and the special regard of the dreaded chief Hongi for the older Missionary had acted as a restraint in his favour. The Mission house lived in recurrent alarms; at times, for days together, its inmates were 'almost stunned' by the riot and wild licence around them. More than once they were openly threatened with the fate of the crew of the *Boyd*, whose destruction the perpetrators remembered with pride rather than shame. A chief was overheard confessing that the Whangaroa people had tried all they knew to terrify the Missionaries, but had failed!

Two incidents taken from Turner's diary illustrate the prolonged martyrdom which he and his companions endured. One day Te Ara came to bring certain provisions, for which he had been prepaid, to the Mission house. He demanded further payment, and Turner, with some demur, gave him an iron pot he asked for. Upon this the savage, catching sight of an axe and a frying-pan within his reach, seized them as a better bargain, while he dashed the pot in pieces. Furious at the Missionary's remonstrances, he levelled twice at him his loaded musket; then, dropping it, pushed him down the bank on which they stood, crying: 'You want to make the Maoris slaves! We want muskets and powder and tomahawks; but you give us nothing but *karakia* [prayers]!' This said, he rushed into the house, threatening the life of Mrs. Turner and her maid, till the latter ran out screaming. The shaken Missionary picked himself up and followed Te Ara within doors, half expecting to find his wife murdered. But she stood boldly facing the raging barbarian,¹ and in a few moments the tempest dropped. Te Ara laid his hand upon his heart and bowed, with the apology:

When my heart rests here I love Mr. Turner very much; but when my heart rises to my throat I could kill him in a moment!

¹ This lady, like her predecessor Mrs. Leigh, was a missionary heroine. 'She bore her trials,' writes her husband, 'with uncommon heroism, and held up my hands when they were ready to hang down. Her exalted piety and praying faith were a great help to the whole missionary party.'

By the beginning of 1825 it was evident that, while a few of the people had become steady friends of the Mission and were attentive to the preaching and the Missionaries' talk, the bulk of them were hardened and reckless in hostility.

A plundering raid was made on the Station on March 5, in which a couple of chiefs took part, when the Missionaries, in trying to protect their property, were roughly handled. White escaped with a few cuts and bruises ; Turner was felled to the ground and taken up for dead—the shock disabled him for several days. But for the interposition of a friendly chief, both of them might have been killed and the Mission premises looted and stripped. Again Mrs. Turner barred the door and held it against the mob. In the previous year the removal from the old shanty set up for Leigh to the more substantial domicile built by his successors had proved an operation of the greatest difficulty. The neighbours found flitting a fine opportunity to harry the family, who were mulcted in a considerable part of their goods. On this occasion, fortunately, the brother-chiefs fell out, and Te Ara frustrated the larceny attempted by Te Puhi.

Somewhat earlier than this date a tragedy was narrowly averted which might have eclipsed even the *Boyd* massacre. The London Missionary Society had chartered the ship *Endeavour* to convey a party round the islands, which included the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and Mr. Bennett, the official deputation from London inspecting the South Sea Missions. The vessel put into Whangaroa Bay under stress of weather on the way to the Bay of Islands. Several of the party went up the river in the ship's boat to visit Wesleydale. Meanwhile the Natives swarmed round the ship in their canoes, and clambered up her sides unhindered. Pilfering being observed, orders were given to clear the deck. In the scuffle some of the Maoris fell overboard ; the rest, incensed, took up the nearest weapons to hand and laid about them, raising hideous war-cries. The passengers and crew were far too scattered and too few for effectual resistance, and a speedy death seemed to await them. Some of the monsters, as they brandished club or axe over the victims' heads, felt their bodies with a gloating look, as if anticipating the feast to follow ! ¹ At this moment,

¹ The L.M.S. missionary Threlkeld was on board with his little boy by his side, who looked up and said : ' Father, does it hurt to be eaten ? '

and before a fatal blow had been struck, the Mission boat hove in sight, diverting the attention of the murderers. William White had hurried to the spot, accompanied by Te Ara ; and the two succeeded in quelling the anger of the Natives and saving the precious lives at stake.

The Missionaries were less successful in the next encounter of the kind. A whaling-brig, named the *Mercury*, put in to Whangaroa, as it happened, on the day after the plundering of the Mission house in March, 1825. Fearing an attempt upon her, White and Stack went off in their boat to give warning and help. Te Puhi this time was their companion. It was Sunday ; but they found the crew engaged in barter with the Natives, who had crowded round the vessel. Te Puhi was indignant ! ‘ Know you this tribe ? ’ he said to the Missionaries, pointing to the busy traffickers. ‘ No,’ they answered. ‘ Is this their sacred day ? ’ was the next question ; ‘ I know it is yours.’ ‘ They acknowledge it to be so,’ was the reply. He exclaimed thereupon : ‘ See how they trade ! An evil people is this tribe.’ He would not raise a finger on their behalf. Mischief was evidently brewing, and the Missionaries advised the captain to slip out at nightfall with the ebb-tide, as soon as the people had returned to the shore, as they might attack on the following day. They then rowed back, leaving the chief behind ; but to their consternation they saw the anchor lifted and the sails unfurled, while the sailors tried to drive the Natives over the bulwarks. It was a fatal mistake. A general *melée* ensued. Amongst the Maoris thrown into the water was Te Puhi’s son, who was nearly drowned. Absorbed in the fighting, the crew let the vessel drift on the shore, whither she was borne by a sudden change of wind. New Zealand custom made her now a lawful prey. With astonishing celerity the crew were overpowered, the ship dismantled, and her cargo broken up. The captain and his men, terrified, took to their boats, making off for the Bay of Islands, and were soon out of reach. All this had happened before White and Stack could get back to the luckless *Mercury*. They induced Te Puhi to order the plunderers off now that the mischief was done, and left the wreck in charge of a friendly chief in whom they had confidence ; but by the morning the hold and cabins were completely rifled.

The trouble of the Missionaries over this sad business was

not yet ended. Next day, picking up three of the sailors who had escaped to shore, White and Stack got the brig afloat, intending to take her round themselves to the Bay of Islands. But sails and tackle were slashed and broken; sextant and compass were lost; the hands were too few to work the vessel, had she been in order; finally the wind turned against the navigators, before they could clear the Heads. Completely baffled, they took to the boat when twenty miles from home. Compelled to land on the way, they found themselves amongst a villainous set of Natives, who stripped them of everything but the clothes they wore. The five reached Wesleydale at last, utterly spent and in miserable plight. 'Whangaroa went mad' over its exploit. The marauders sailed up the river with shouts of gleeful triumph. They landed dressed up fantastically in European garments and dripping with whale-oil, while they brandished harpoons or marline-spikes as trophies; so arrayed, they executed a war-dance in front of the Mission house, making the hills echo with their beast-like yells.

The principal chief, Te Ara, who had promised there should be no repetition of the *Boyd* outrage and had stopped the attack on the *Endeavour*, though he was not present at the capture of the *Mercury*, entered with zest into this celebration. By this time, however, he had fallen dangerously ill. Report said that he had given directions for the exacting of *utu* (satisfaction) from the Missionaries in case of his death for the loss of his father, who had been killed at the taking of the *Boyd*.¹ Te Ara's brothers intimated as much to the Missionaries, and there was small hope of his recovery.

It was plain that matters were coming to a crisis at Whangaroa. The Bay of Island Missionaries, who had reliable means of information, were thoroughly alarmed. From the beginning they regarded their Methodist fellow workers as one with themselves. Their lines had fallen in comparatively pleasant places, and they were always ready to counsel and help their brethren at the post of danger. Two of these good friends came over to Wesleydale, and arranged for the removal of Mrs. Turner and the children, with their maid, to the Bay

¹ The father of Te Puhi and Te Ara lost his life through the explosion of gun-powder caused by the carelessness of the Natives in plundering the ship. The accident was, however, imputed to the Europeans, and atonement was due from their tribe! The exaction of *utu* the Maoris regarded as a sacred obligation incumbent on the kindred of the chief. The story reminds one of David's dying charge respecting Joab and Shimei.

of Islands. They advised the retirement of the whole Mission, but to this the men on the spot could not bring their minds. The situation was complicated by the probability that punishment would before long be inflicted by some European force for the destruction of the *Mercury*, in which event Wesleydale would be bound to suffer. Hongi, too, was fulminating against Whangaroa. He was engaged just then in a difficult campaign elsewhere, but meant, as soon as his hands were free, to deal with the pirates of that harbour. He gave it out that he had no grudge against the Mission, and was preparing a fine canoe on purpose to remove its staff in safety when he laid waste the neighbouring country. It was urged also that the Bay of Islands Mission would be involved in the consequences of a massacre happening in Wesleydale. Turner sets forth these considerations in a memorandum sent to the Mission House in London. He concludes :

Though our judgement approved of the measure recommended [by the Anglican Missionaries], our feelings have not suffered us to take any step towards carrying it into execution. We think it would be best for us to continue at our post for the present, and quietly wait for the salvation of God.

The Turner family were lodged at Keri Keri, an outlying station of the Church Mission, distant twenty-three miles from Wesleydale, within a day's walk.

For the present the storm blew over. Te Ara died on April 17 ; though in other respects impenitent, he commended the Missionaries to the kindness of his people. Some of the chiefs advised an attack on Wesleydale ; Te Puhi prevented this.¹ Maori public opinion condemned the action of the Whangaroa people in the case of the *Mercury*, and Hongi was believed to be intending a condign punishment. Te Puhi needed all the friends he could muster, and besought the mediation of the Missionaries. The temper of Whangaroa was much subdued. After a while it was judged safe for the missionary women and children to return from Keri Keri. They were brought back toward the end of June, when the outlook at Wesleydale was brighter than for some time past. When William White a little later made his visit home,² leaving

¹ A fine duck was seized from the Mission premises, and execution visited upon it. This was taken as a formal expiation, a fulfilment of the *utu* vowed by Te Ara.

² This was meant to be a short excursion to New South Wales, but White took the occasion to run off to England.

the care of the work to Nathaniel Turner, he supposed the danger to be over, and gave a highly encouraging account of the situation to the Mission House in London.

On July 23, Hongi, suddenly appearing, landed near Wesleydale at the head of a picked band of warriors. His intentions were unknown, and Te Puhi's fighting-men entrenched themselves in their *pah* (fortress), provisioned for a siege. Hongi, with his second in command, invited himself to the Mission house. His men committed many acts of war in the valley, but the great chief showed himself in a placable mood, and was brought to a friendly interview with Te Puhi, from which peace resulted. This issue enhanced the influence of the Mission, and the rest of the year passed in comparative quiet. The death of Te Ara had removed a source of danger; he had been, beyond doubt, the instigator of many of the tricks formerly played on the Missionaries. For some months they carried on their work with little opposition, while progress in the language added to their efficiency. About this time the first ascertained adult Maori conversion was reported from the Bay of Islands, giving joy and encouragement to both the Missions. Several buildings of importance to the Wesleydale work were completed, after much previous delay; the schools were re-organized, and increasing attention was given to the children and young people, amongst whom signs were discerned that promised much for the future. Good natural susceptibilities and remarkable powers of apprehension manifested themselves in the Maori constitution; the Missionaries were confident of a rich harvest for their painful sowing.

In secular as well as spiritual matters prosperity appeared to be dawning. A great breadth of corn was sown in the winter of 1825 (our summer) by the Mission staff, both on their own and on Maori plots of ground. This yielded a plentiful crop,¹ which was reaped peacefully, with no small congratulation on the part of the Natives, in the following January. About this date the Mission household had to turn their ingenuity to fresh account in extracting *salt*, of which their supply had failed, from the sea-water. This task occupied them for three days—a specimen of the many ‘cares of this life’ incumbent upon pioneer Missionaries remote from the conveniences of civilization. A dark shadow fell on the Turner family at the

¹ The Mission was thus secured against the scarcity which it had suffered in 1825.

year's end, in the loss of their infant boy—the first death occurring in the Methodist Mission to New Zealand.

As the year 1826 advanced the horizon darkened once more. Unrest and turbulence revived amongst the tribes surrounding Wesleydale. The stroke of chastisement for the seizure of the *Mercury* anticipated from British hands had not fallen, but the terrible Hongi was known to be still angry with Whangaroa. In the visit of the previous year, it would seem, he had dissembled and delayed his vengeance. It was this able chief's settled policy to avoid friction with Europeans, while he carried out his plans of conquest in New Zealand. He was competent to measure British power, as few of his fellow countrymen could. His own power rested on the supply of arms obtained from that quarter; and such acts of plunder as those repeatedly committed in Whangaroa harbour, which ranked amongst the best in the islands and the most accessible to foreign vessels, tended to stop the commerce upon which he built and to cut the nerve of his strength. He was determined, therefore, to root out this gang of wreckers, making an example of them to all New Zealand.

After various rumours to this effect, in spring (our autumn) the following message came from Hongi, who, when it suited him, could be the most outspoken of diplomats :

Fly, all of you, to another place ! If I see one of your faces, O Ngaté Uru (the name of the Wesleydale tribe), I will kill you and devour you utterly !

Te Puhi was frantic with alarm ; his people put themselves in an attitude of defence. In a few days a hostile force sailed into the harbour, which ravaged the valley, not sparing the Mission property. But this regiment was not strong enough to drive out the Ngaté, who had retired to their *pah*. Shortly the hostile parties came to terms, and the invaders withdrew. No personal injury was done to the Mission staff. It was hoped the danger was past. The three Missionaries resumed their work, and at the end of the year opened a more advanced school, from which they had high expectations.

But the affair of October was a preliminary skirmish. On January 4 Hongi himself arrived in command of a large war-fleet, bent on making an end of the Ngaté tribe. He sent a message to Wesleydale saying that he meant no harm to the

Missionaries, but the Natives with them must come into his camp. This they did. The fort was then attacked and carried by assault, after several repulses and considerable loss. A number of the local chiefs fled to Hokianga, on the western coast, forty miles distant; few of the people escaped. The Whangaroa tribes were wiped out of existence. The blow had been prepared so secretly, and was delivered so suddenly, that the Mission people had received no warning from their friends at the Bay of Islands. Only on the evening before their exodus they sent thither a message for help, hoping up to that time that their dwelling would be spared.

At dawn on January 10 the day of destruction came for Wesleydale. A detachment of Hongi's men marched up to the Mission house fully armed. The Missionaries met them at the gate, and asked their business; the commander replied: 'Your chiefs have fled; all the people have left the place; and you will be stripped of your property before noon. Therefore instantly begone!' Giving a signal to others, who rushed in to share the booty, the soldiers attacked the outhouses, proceeding to empty and demolish them. Further words were useless and resistance impossible. Not a moment was to be lost. A hasty 'passover' meal was snatched, and such necessities were gathered and made into bundles as could be carried on foot. In sorrowful silence the exiles set out on their march of more than twenty rough miles to the nearest refuge, with streams to ford and woods to traverse, not knowing what marauders invested the way. They were under Hongi's ban, and who would dare to protect them? The axes of the destroyers were already at work on the Mission house, and exit was quickened by a ferocious blow aimed at Mrs. Turner, who narrowly escaped the weapon as she passed through the door.

Our company [writes her husband] comprised myself, Mrs. Turner, and three children, the youngest an infant five weeks and two days old¹; Luke Wade and his wife, who had not long arrived from England; Mr. Hobbs; and Miss Davies, from Paihia.² The morning was foggy, and heavy dew lay upon the ground.

¹ The babe carried in his father's arms from burning Wesleydale grew up to be the Hon. J. S. Turner, a distinguished member of the Queensland Legislature.

² This lady was on a visit from the Bay of Islands, so little was the catastrophe apprehended at that time. Betsy, the Turners' maid, appears to have left them before this date; Miss Davies, it would seem, had been acting as friend to the Missionary's wife during her confinement.

The fog turned to a soaking rain. Four Native boys and two girls, belonging to the school, threw in their lot with the exiles ; their assistance was a god-send.

A few miles out of Wesleydale the party fell in with two hundred Maori warriors on their way to Whangaroa. Presumably these were a company of Hongi's forces. Neither flight nor concealment was possible ; every one looked for death. At the word of command all knelt down, awaiting the fatal blow. To their astonishment the leaders, instead of lifting spear or hatchet to strike, held back their men, and stooped to rub noses with the Missionaries ! The troop was under the command of Patuone, chief of Hokianga and an ally of Hongi's, but a friend of the *Pakeha*. He expressed his commiseration, and offered to reinstate the fugitives at Wesleydale if they would return. On their declining, he turned aside to escort them toward Keri Keri in full force. So they proceeded in safety, with a hundred well-armed Maoris on each side, until, six miles farther on, Stack and the advance-guard of the relief-party from the Church Mission appeared. Here a halt was made, until means of conveyance were brought up for the weaker members of the company, by this time exhausted. At sundown the travellers reached their goal, after this day of calamity and terror.

So ended the first Methodist Mission to New Zealand : 'one of the most noble, best-sustained, and protracted struggles to graft Christianity upon a nation, savage and ferocious, which the history of the Church of Christ supplies.' Now destitute, the Wesleydale missionary company, by the help of their never-failing friends at the Bay of Islands, embarked for Sydney at the end of January. Even then their dangers were not over ; they had for fellow passengers several score of ex-convicts turned pirates, who had been captured on the New Zealand coast and were being conveyed in chains to New South Wales. These desperate criminals formed a plot to seize the ship, and nearly succeeded. False reports of the Whangaroa troubles reached the colony, on the ground of which the Missionaries were accused of deserting their post. The charge was taken so seriously that it became matter of official investigation, resulting in a complete exoneration of the accused.¹ In

¹ So prevalent was this calumny that it even appears, reinforced with disparaging suggestions, in Saunders' *History of New Zealand*, Vol. I., pp. 90, 91. The only

point of fact, they had clung to Wesleydale to the last moment, and only retreated when work and life upon this ground were no longer possible. When the Mission buildings had been sacked, they were put to the flames; the live-stock and the store of corn, which the savages had not the sense to carry away, were consumed in the conflagration. Nothing remained except the brick chimney which Mr. Leigh had built, after making the bricks, with his own hands. This stood for many years as the monument of Wesleydale! For some time the Anglicans feared a similar fate for their establishment at the Bay of Islands, and shipped their valuables to Sydney in the vessel which carried the Wesleyan Missionaries. Marsden came across in alarm (his fourth New Zealand voyage), conveyed on a sloop of war, to look after his protégés. He sailed round to Whangaroa harbour and Wesleydale, which he found deserted and bare. Nothing could be recovered of the scattered spoil or discovered amongst the ruins save a couple of books. The missionary library had been turned into cartridge-paper for Hongi's musketeers!

Doom swiftly overtook Hongi. Pursuing the flying Nga-te-po, he was struck by a chance bullet which pierced his breast. For some months he lingered in suffering and weakness, but his wound was fatal. With his death his dominion fell to pieces. Hongi is said to have disclaimed the attack on Wesleydale, which took place during his pursuit of the Whangaroans; and Dr. William Morley, in his *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, states his opinion that the deed was perpetrated without his consent. It is difficult to accept the alleged disclaimer, and most unlikely that any such thing would have been done against Hongi's known wishes. So far as the evidence goes, Hongi showed no sign of friendliness toward the Missionaries at this time, and took no steps for their protection. He was at least willing to see them driven away. What he said to Samuel Leigh at the outset in barring his proposal to settle at Mercury Bay, to the effect that the destruction of the people there residing, on which he was bent,

documentary evidence for his judgement to which Saunders refers is the memorandum sent to the London Mission House in March, 1825, at the time of alarm when Mrs. Turner and her children were removed to the Bay of Islands. In this statement Turner reports the reasons for withdrawal from Whangaroa then urged by his friends at the Bay of Islands, but which *he and his colleagues set aside*. Saunders speaks 'of the timid Mrs. Turner and the delicate Mrs. Leigh'! *Timidity* was the very last fault to be imputed to Mrs. Turner. Of all the party she was the most intrepid.

would supersede the Mission, applied now to Whangaroa. Had Wesleydale stood, it might have formed a nucleus for the reconstitution of the broken tribes. On the day that Wesleydale fell Hongi received his death-blow, and the career of this Napoleon of the Maoris was ended. The coincidence bore the appearance of a nemesis, and was naturally so interpreted.

II

REPLANTING AMONGST THE MAORIS

The new Station—Mangungu—Mission Schools—The first Baptism—Two great Missionaries—Literary Work—Reinforcements—School Festivals—The Wives of Missionaries—The Comity of Missions—The first Martyrs of New Zealand—James Buller—The Mission house destroyed—John Waterhouse, General Superintendent—Five Recruits followed by six more—Richard Day—A Division of the Districts—Colonization—Ecclesiastical Strife.

THE tragedy of Wesleydale was not enacted in vain. For the Missionaries who escaped it had been a schooling which prepared them for renewed effort. Amongst the handful of scholars they carried off from the scene of devastation several proved useful helpers and faithful witnesses to the truth which had redeemed them; in subsequent years Natives were occasionally found in other districts who had escaped the massacre at Whangaroa, bearing vital seeds sown in their hearts during the evil times of missionary labour there. The death of Hongi in March, 1828¹—a fitting judgement upon a career of crafty and bloodstained ambition—chastened the Maori temper. The tribes of the north, harried and decimated through the conflicts he had stirred up, were now tired of war, and ready to listen to the messengers of peace. The sight of the gentle patience of the Missionaries under numberless injuries, and of the happier mode of life which sprang up around them, the experience of their unwearied kindness, the remembrance of their expostulations with Hongi and their warnings against his evil courses—these and similar influences

¹Patuone, who appears to have been a favourite with the chief paramount, witnessed his death at Whangaroa, and reported his last words as follows: 'O my children! O my relatives! to the praying foreigners [Missionaries] be kind and affectionate. O my children! O my relatives! these are the people who have been kind to me. But should our countrymen come to fight against you from any quarter when I am gone, do not give way to fear. My children and friends, be brave! be brave!' This man had the power to win sincere affection.

co-operated to bring about a reaction in favour of Christianity. The 'hour of the power of darkness' Christ's servants had passed through prepared the dawn of a brighter day. From the year 1827 onwards both the Anglican and Wesleyan Missions made headway, advancing first slowly and then with rapid strides.

The Society at home was distressed but not daunted by the failure at Wesleydale. The Committee in Hatton Garden, on receiving news of the disaster, passed a resolution directing that the New Zealand Mission should be resumed as quickly as practicable in some more favourable location, and sent instructions to Sydney to that effect. Meantime an invitation came from Patuone, the Hokianga chief who had befriended the fugitives of Wesleydale in their flight, inviting them to settle amongst his people, and promising them goodwill and protection. Patuone exercised a wide influence on the western side of the island; the Hokianga Bay and river are well situated and healthy, and had a considerable Maori population. The sphere was suitable; now that Hongi had disappeared more settled conditions for Native life seemed to be in prospect; the Church Missionaries advised the acceptance of Patuone's overtures. James Stack, sent across from Sydney in July to examine the situation, returned with a favourable report, and it was resolved to recommence the work in this new station without delay. The proposal of the Hokianga chief was seconded by an English firm which was opening up a timber trade with New Zealand, and had planted itself on the Hokianga estuary. The proximity of Europeans was often dreaded rather than desired by Missionaries; but the managers of the business in question were friends of the Mission, and sought this association for the sake of their employés. They promised two things on behalf of their servants—the observance of the Day of Rest, and the refraining from traffic with the Natives in strong drink—stipulations that were faithfully observed. The Mission found helpers amongst the agents of this company.

The Turners were ready and eager to resume work on New Zealand. Mrs. Turner's health had been much shaken by the exit from Wesleydale, but she was now recovering. At that moment news arrived of trouble in Tonga, so grave that the New South Wales brethren insisted on Nathaniel Turner's

going to the rescue of the Mission there.¹ Much against his wishes he complied, and his course was thus diverted. He and his wife joined the party for the Friendly Islands, which sailed soon afterwards, taking with them one of the Maori youths from Whangaroa.

The leadership of the Hokianga Mission thus devolved upon John Hobbs, who sailed from Sydney toward the end of September, 1827, with his newly married wife, fresh from England, and his colleague, James Stack. They were received with the kindness they expected, but the district was entirely barbarian and uncultivated; everything in the shape of home and civilized existence had to be created. The mistake of Wesleydale was at first repeated—a tempting site near Patuone's *whare*² was chosen for the Mission station, which was found to be within the sweep of the river-floods. The second choice was in every way fortunate. *Mangungu*, five miles lower down the river on the south bank, and twenty-two miles from the mouth of the fiord, is a commanding site, accessible from all directions both by land and water. There was safe moorage for vessels of 500 tons burden within a hundred yards of the spot marked out for the Mission house. The soil was good in quality, and timber for building abounded on the estate. Eight hundred and fifty acres of land were bought here from relatives of the chief at a liberal price, and the operations of clearing and levelling the ground commenced at once. As at Wesleydale, the Natives would scarcely work for any payment except in munitions; and the Missionaries would have been at a standstill but for the Wesleydale lads, five of whom rejoined them, offering their services in return for maintenance and instruction. On January 19, 1828, the erection of the first house built of wood was commenced at Mangungu. With patient labour and inventiveness, guided by Wesleydale experience, the necessary premises were raised.

¹ William Cross, also designated by the Missionary Committee for New Zealand, had arrived from England. The Sydney Synod laid hands on him, along with Turner, to meet the emergency in the Friendly Islands. In his case the diversion proved permanent. This action of New South Wales was *ultra vires*, and was in the first instance severely censured by the Mission house; but it saved the Tonga Mission, and the offence was in the end condoned. It reduced the New Zealand staff from four to two. The courage of Hobbs and Stack in going forward under these circumstances deserves high praise. Until the Conference of 1828 they were both but Ministers on probation under Turner's nominal superintendence. Until 1830, when White arrived at Hokianga, Turner was officially Chairman of the New Zealand District, residing at 'Tongatabu'!

² The name for a Native dwelling, constructed of *raupo* (rushes) woven into a wooden framework.

The felling of trees and sawing of timber, the fencing and plotting out of the ground, the making and laying of bricks, the carpentry and smith's work, the digging and planting of the garden, whose produce was urgently required—all these industries were carried on by the eight pairs of hands available, the two Missionaries being their own architects and clerks of the work. Till their home was ready the labourers, including Mrs. Hobbs, lodged in a rough Native hut partitioned into rooms. The Maori neighbours looked on, wondering and learning much, but showing as yet scant sympathy. Meanwhile Hobbs and Stack, already conversant with the language, had much to say to the spectators, and the Whangaroa boys put in their word. The children gathered round these youths, and were induced to share in their lessons, so that a sort of school was gathered before it could be housed.

The building operations at Mangungu were carried through without mishap. This safety, and the freedom of the missionary people from the thefts and insults endured at Wesleydale, were due to the steady friendship of Patuone, who even as a pagan exhibited something of 'the law written in the heart,'¹ though his people bore a reputation at that time little better than that of the Whangaroans.

The first English ship (the *Macquarie*) which entered the Hokianga inlet, not long before this time, narrowly escaped destruction. The Natives clambered on board, making demonstrations of friendliness, but with their plans laid for the massacre of the crew. Amongst them came the daughter of Wainga, their crafty priest-chief, who was touched with love for the ship's mate and disclosed to him the plot. Wainga's design was foiled, and the villain was seized and detained on the ship. His life being spared, he consented to terms of peace and commerce with the voyagers, which were sealed by the marriage of Martin, the mate, to his daughter. This treaty was honourably kept, and laid the foundations of intercourse with English traders at Hokianga. The Maoris appear to have appreciated the romance of the occurrence. It is pleasant to add that the marriage alliance proved happy.

¹ Patuone some years afterwards migrated to the Thames River District. Here he was baptized by the name of *Edward Marsh*, and lived to a goodly age, an exemplary Christian man, honourably known as 'the Peacemaker.' Tamate Waka Nene, Patuone's abler brother, remained at Hokianga. These two by express arrangement were baptized into the Anglican and Methodist Churches respectively in token of their unity. 'Would that these friendly relations had continued'! (Mosley).

Mr. Martin settled as a pilot on the coast, where he was much respected. Mrs. Martin in course of time became a Christian, and entered worthily into her husband's life.

Great alarms attended the death of Hongi in the spring of 1828. Hostilities, in which Patuone was compelled to engage, broke out between the Hokianga and Bay of Islands Maoris, endangering the Missions at both places. Through the determined efforts of the Church Missionaries, however, the quarrel was settled, although blood had already been shed. The Wesleyan *Missionary Report* states that

no general movement took place amongst the Natives such as was expected on Hongi's death. The battle of Hunhuna, in which he fell, proved to be the Waterloo of New Zealand, and led to a better understanding amongst the turbulent chiefs that governed the country, and a more general and lasting tranquillity.

The state of the country was more favourable to the progress of the Gospel than at any time since, fourteen years ago, its messengers set foot on the islands. Their character was known; their persons and property were now generally respected, so that they could move with freedom in the country, and were able to set up schools and gather congregations over a considerable area. The report of the events about Whangaroa and the Bay of Islands had travelled far. Writing to England a little later from New South Wales, Samuel Leigh says :

Several captains who have lately visited the more distant parts of New Zealand declare that the labours of the Missionaries have spread far and wide in that country; the prayers they have taught the people have been transmitted from tribe to tribe, until they have become well known by Natives hundreds of miles from the Mission station. They tell me that the one desire of the chiefs at the ports they have visited is to have Missionaries. The chiefs have offered to give those captains any quantity of pigs, potatoes, or flax for a Missionary who can teach them the way to the God and heaven of the White man.

It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of symptoms of this kind, but undoubtedly they existed, and betokened the diffusion of a new atmosphere in Maori life.

The flocking of young people to the schools was the most encouraging sign of the early days at Hokianga. Christian preaching was listened to with attention, especially at the

dead.' The gift of telling speech, widely diffused among the Maoris, made them apt for public testimony, and ready to fall in with the Methodist practice in that respect. Such a facility has, to be sure, its dangers, and these were sometimes sadly exemplified. But in numberless instances this endowment was signally blessed ; it greatly subserved the diffusion of the Gospel, when its grace had touched the heart of the people. Once rooted and naturalized there, it readily became self-propagating. So 'the Word of the Lord ran and was glorified.'

It was customary, as is still the case in the Wesleyan Missions, to use the forms of the Anglican Prayer-book in public worship, which were abridged and adapted in translation with some freedom. This usage promoted decorum, and set a standard of expression in prayer and adoration of inestimable value, the danger of slavish and mechanical repetition being guarded against. The stateliness and rhythm of the Liturgy appealed to Maori taste. Its sentences fastened themselves on the memory like those of Scripture, and became proverbial. From Maori lips there would burst forth, on a devout suggestion, the cry : ' Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth ! ' or sometimes : ' Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory ! ' By this means the people were taught how to praise and how to pray. The ordinance of the Lord's Day was implicitly accepted ; its observance spread even among the heathen. Native tribes when fighting would sometimes of their own accord agree to a truce on the Sabbath. In the war with the English, which broke out twenty years later, nothing surprised and disgusted the Maoris so much as to find their Christian enemies making no difference between Sunday and week-day, sometimes even taking advantage of *their* Sabbath-keeping ! The Wesleyan Catechism, which the Missionaries early took care to render into Maori, was much appreciated. The children made no difficulty of memorizing its definitions, along with such texts and paragraphs of Scripture as could be taught them by word of mouth. Within a few years of the commencement at Mangungu the demand for schools and teachers grew quite beyond the power of the handful of Missionaries to supply. Appeals came from quarters far and near ; in one instance a chief arrived from a distance with a war-canoe strongly manned, intending to secure a Missionary for himself by main force ;

with no little difficulty he was persuaded to forgo his violent purpose.

Until 1830 Hobbs and Stack toiled on alone. About the end of that year William White, whom the Conference had appointed Superintendent of the Mission, made his appearance. He had withdrawn to England in 1825, after spending but two years at Wesleydale, and had escaped the calamity which overtook his brethren there. When Turner and Cross were transferred to the Tonga Mission he was urgently required in New Zealand, but found it necessary—for reasons perhaps not very satisfactory to his brethren—to remain at home. He was senior to the Missionaries on the spot and a man of undoubted competence and endurance, and had retained the confidence of the Missionary Committee notwithstanding the irregularity of his return to England, so he was put in command of the Hokianga station. This promotion cannot have been agreeable to the men on the ground, who had stood by the Mission throughout, and had re-established it on the new ground and set it on the road to success. From this, or from other causes, friction arose between White and Hobbs, as appears by their correspondence with the Mission House. It was not long before both Hobbs and Stack quitted Hokianga; the former was transferred to the Friendly Islands,¹ the latter returned to England, to resume his New Zealand labours in the service of the Church Missionary Society.

To the sketch of Hobbs' career given on p. 181 other features of the man and his work may be added at this stage. Endowed with a powerful physique, and a ready, animated speaker, he 'at once made a favourable impression on the Maoris.' He 'quickly acquired a free and idiomatic use of the language,' and could employ Native gesture and illustration with a facility most uncommon in a European. He became expert in the knowledge of the New Zealand woods and waters, and showed himself, to the admiration of the Natives, resourceful in the emergencies of travel. He gained skill in handling disease and in the use of common medicines of peculiar service to the Mission. Beside all this he was

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something of a musician, and composed Maori hymns that are still sung in the islands. His gentleness and courtesy, combined with firm strength, conduced greatly to his influence. He taught his wild people reverence, so that their worship was seemly and impressive to a wonderful degree. John Hobbs put his stamp on infant Maori Methodism more than did any other single man. He held the respect of the Whites who began to settle at Hokianga in his time, while he was beloved by the Native folk, and formed a link of peace between them. His wife had her share in all that he achieved ; their house was a place of pleasant resort, and the family life an object-lesson to the Maoris. Stack, who worked by Hobbs' side for eight years, was modest, ingenious, reliable, indefatigable—one of those little men to whom bigger men sometimes owe half their success. He had not the commanding powers of his colleagues ; but Leigh, Turner, and Hobbs alike loved him, and proved him a serviceable lieutenant and a cheering companion. The debt of New Zealand Methodism to James Stack is not to be forgotten.

The removal of these two men was a crisis for the Mission. Their work, however, had gathered momentum, so that it went forward under other hands, and they found worthy successors. William White, who was not wanting in resource or self-reliance, was joined on the departure of Hobbs and Stack by John Whiteley, sent out from England. The newcomer proved a first-rate Missionary—a great lover of the Maoris, devoting his whole life to their salvation. Without the versatility of Hobbs, he had similar linguistic gifts applied with a peculiar steadiness and tenacity of purpose, and uncommon powers of endurance ; his understanding was sound and solid, his faculty of administration superior. Through thirty-six years of uninterrupted labour Whiteley's influence grew amongst the Native tribes, till it came to be unrivalled. The British Government learned to value his advice, and employed him as a peacemaker. He witnessed with sorrow the outbreak of the Maori war, which his efforts limited but could not prevent. To this disastrous conflict Whiteley fell a victim in 1869, being shot by a party of raiders while journeying with too little care for his own safety in a disturbed district. His death was lamented in the rebel camp hardly less than by his fellow Missionaries.

Some compensation for the surrender of John Hobbs to the Friendly Islands was made by the transfer from that quarter of William Woon in 1834. Woon had comparatively failed in the other District, and lost heart. Hearing of this, and knowing that he had been a printer, White, who was keen on extending the use of the printing-press at Hokianga in which Hobbs had made a tentative beginning, invited him thither. He came, and proved a valuable adjunct to the New Zealand Mission, not only in the press department, which he made thoroughly efficient, but in its general work. His health recovered, and he was reinstated in the ministry. For twenty-four years he rendered excellent service in this field. Woon's knowledge of Tongan enabled him easily to acquire Maori. White observed the eagerness for learning awakened in the young Maori nature—the art of writing and reading was a revelation to this people, the report of which spread like the news of a miracle through the country, awakening a curiosity and ambition of which the Missionaries took the best advantage. White was a man of some literary power; his letters to the Mission House, more frequent than those of his predecessors, give telling descriptions of life and scenery. The more settled state of the country enabled him to extend his tours amongst the *kaingas* (native villages), and to plan out the enlargements of the Mission realized by his successors. William White's rule, however, was not of long duration; in 1836 he withdrew from the Mission to take up a colonist's life. He assisted in the founding of the city of Auckland, where he lived and prospered to advanced years. Mrs. White, who reached a still more venerable age, was a mother of the Church in Auckland. Whatever judgement may have been formed of Mr. White's withdrawal from the ministry, it must be acknowledged that he and his wife rendered good service to the community in after years; they enjoyed and they dispensed much of God's blessing.

Assured that the New Zealand Mission was taking root at Hokianga, the Missionary Society encouraged it by sending out in 1834 another devoted couple—James Wallis and his wife. Wallis was a man of a similar type to Whiteley, if not quite of equal calibre. A Londoner, of small bodily stature but wiry constitution, he had a large soul, and was full of courage and activity. He, too, had the linguistic faculty.

Wallis was known as a voracious reader and a man of wide information, with an horizon beyond that of his immediate work. Though liable to fits of depression, he toiled unremittingly in the Maori field, and shared its triumphs and sorrows for nigh thirty years. His strength gave way in 1868, but he survived all his contemporaries, spending a protracted old age at Auckland, where his more retired ministry was greatly blessed; there he died in 1895. White's place was filled in the Chair of the District in 1836 by the reappointment of Nathaniel Turner, whom every one welcomed back to New Zealand.

If still inadequate to the demands of its work, the staff gathered around Turner was thoroughly devoted and competent. All its men were shaping for good vernacular Preachers. Fifteen chapels had been built in the Hokianga Circuit—most of them on or near the rivers flowing into the estuary—at each of which small or larger Societies existed. Schools were multiplying, and were eagerly supported by the Native chiefs. Maori teachers were in training, and a beginning had been made in the creation of a Native agency. The Mission was on good terms with the little English community within its borders, helping and being helped by it in turn. One of the English residents, George Stephenson by name, was a Local Preacher, and of the utmost use to his Church. A skilled artisan, he had a hand in building many of the earliest chapels and Mission houses. Like others of the first comers, Stephenson attained in the salubrious air of New Zealand a patriarchal age, to become a reverend father of Colonial Methodism. The first record of the Hokianga Church membership, in the year 1830, gives the number as 2; in 1839 the Maori Church has grown to 20 members; hundreds more were 'on trial.' From this date the increase is rapid; in successive years the figures given are 600, 1,000, 1,263, 1,565. In 1840 the mother Circuit was divided into five—Mangungu, Newark (named after the English town from which Whiteley hailed), Kaipara, Kawhia, and Waingaroa. Newark lay inland; the other stations ranged southward along the western shore, the greater part of which was now covered by missionary activities, which penetrated far up the rivers.

Writing shortly after his arrival (1834), Woon draws a vivid picture of the Sunday scenes at Mangungu:

The Native chapel was crowded to excess, and great numbers had to sit outside for want of room—all apparently panting for the word of life. In the evening the people almost trampled upon each other when making their way to the house of God. Some of them had come forty miles to attend the worship. A great chief from Mangamuka, about fifteen miles distant, came for the first time to profess his attachment to Christianity. Almost every Sabbath strangers who have been invited by their neighbours and friends to forsake their heathenish pursuits and attend the worship of God make their appearance. Their singing, prayers, attention to their Classes and other ordinances of religion, leave no doubt on our minds as to their sincerity; and for consistency and decorum in the house of God they are a pattern to many who have enjoyed greater advantages. . . . But [he continues] we cannot meet their spiritual wants, being so few amongst the multitude hungering for salvation.

A school examination was held on the following Christmas Day—functions of this kind were immensely popular. Fifty-three canoes were to be counted drawn up on the beach, which had conveyed at least a thousand people, who had travelled twenty-five or thirty miles to be present, bringing their provisions with them.¹ The exercises of the school festival occupied a whole day. It was found that amongst the scholars fifty-eight young men and boys, and twenty women, could read the New Testament and write a good hand; others who could only spell the lesson slowly held back from exhibition. Two hundred succeeded in answering questions put to them from the Catechism; it is not surprising that some failed under cross-examination to show a comprehension of the meaning of their answers. The total number under instruction in the schools was reported as 400. This demonstration took place within seven years of the beginning at Mangungu. Nothing interested and delighted the Maoris more than to see their children brought under discipline and orderly control, for their families were mostly at a loss in this respect. The services regularly held for Europeans were attended by passing sailors from trading ships, as well as by the servants of the timber company settled on the Bay. On one of these occasions the mate of a Swedish vessel was converted to God, who, returning home, became an office-bearer in George Scott's church at Stockholm.

Great things are said about the wives of the New Zealand

¹ It must be remembered that December 25 is midsummer time in the Southern Hemisphere.

pioneer Missionaries ; to several of them reference has already been made. These ladies seem to have been chosen by a special providence for the exacting sphere they had to fill. The climate, happily, was conducive to health, so that the hardships and perils of their daily lot could be more cheerfully supported ; the fatalities distressingly frequent amongst missionary women on many fields did not occur here. The tact and management, as well as courage, they exhibited when left alone, as was often the case, for weeks together amongst savages scarcely redeemed from cannibal habits, have never been surpassed. To the credit of the heathen Maori it should be said that he had in him a touch of chivalry, a sense of obligation for kindness shown, and a reverence for his plighted word, which raised him above less ferocious peoples. To the remarkable talent and efficiency of these missionary mothers it is due that the training of the Maori women fell so little behind that of the menfolk. The girls were eager and imitative, and were not repressed as amongst many heathen races. Their homes were visitable, and they thronged about the Mission houses. They took to sewing and bread-baking, as well as to reading and writing, and gradually learnt the rudiments of cleanliness and housewifery. They appreciated the enhanced value and status accruing to their womanhood from such acquisitions, and not a few of them ' adorned the Saviour's doctrine ' by the new grace of their manner of life.

William White, who was a shrewd man of business while he was a conscientious Missionary, had been drawn into a method of combining these callings which traversed Methodist rule. Nathaniel Turner was sent to take over his superintendency, and to institute the necessary inquiry. He discharged his painful duty with firmness, but with so much prudence and kindness that scandal was avoided and no lasting wound remained. The Missionary Committee recalled White to England ; but he preferred to leave the ministry, and pursue in the colony the avocation in which he had become interested.¹ The prompt exercise of discipline was salutary. A young country like New Zealand presented opportunities for money-making very tempting to men with an eye that way ; where the future of children reared in the colony was concerned,

¹ Morley's *History* gives the failure of Mrs. White's health as the chief reason for the change.

such openings might well wear the guise of providential leadings. Turner's diary indicates that he felt the force of the temptation to a man blessed with a large family. Private land purchases from the Natives were effected about this time by members of the neighbouring Mission, out of which no little reproach afterwards resulted ; the Methodist staff kept itself wholly clear from these entanglements.

White and Whiteley had prospected in 1834, under instructions from the Missionary Committee, for new stations, exploring southwards along the coast as far as the Kawhia Harbour, and south-eastwards up the great Waikato River. First Woon, and then Whiteley and Wallis, were posted out in these directions. The movements were reported to the heads of the Church Mission, and no demur was anticipated from that quarter, inasmuch as there had been an understanding from the time of settlement at Hokianga that the Wesleyans should occupy the western side of the island, while the Anglicans worked along the east. However, it turned out that the Church Missionaries had views in the direction of Waikato and Kawhia, and representations to this effect were addressed by the Anglican to the Wesleyan Committee in London, to which the latter, somewhat hastily, deferred. Orders were sent out to withdraw from the disputed areas, although our Missionaries, who were alone upon the ground, had made a most hopeful commencement at both stations and had already built themselves in. The withdrawal was entirely against the judgement of the judicious men on the spot, who were most friendly toward their Anglican fellow workers. On better information a readvance was ordered from Hatton Garden. As in the case of Samoa, this was an instance of mistaken missionary comity—a one-sided agreement made over the heads of the people concerned. The infant Churches thus deserted retained their love for their first teachers, and the broken threads were picked up a few years later, with smaller loss than might have been expected. This 'little rift within the lute' of Anglican and Wesleyan harmony in New Zealand afterwards grew wide. Up to this time the Missions had worked like one, and the Natives scarcely observed the difference. Personal relations between the older Missionaries on both sides continued cordial and even intimate, especially between Turner and Hobbs and the two brothers

Williams. This was shown when, on the burning of the Mission house at Mangungu in 1838, a contribution of £40 was sent from the Bay of Islands in relief. In the kindest way, also, Henry Williams received Nathaniel Turner's sons into the boarding school at Waimate provided for the families of the Church Missionaries. On the closing of the two stations above named, in 1836, Kaipara was occupied—the nearest inlet south of Hokianga. Here also Wallis was the pioneer.

The Maori converts soon found their natural leaders; the energy and enterprise of the Native temperament made for self-help and aggressiveness in their Church life. Although the chiefs suffered a very sensible loss through Christianity, in the breaking of the customs of *tabu* which had 'hedged' their persons with a sort of 'divinity' and contributed greatly to their power,¹ they became in large numbers 'obedient to the faith.' Their example counted for much in the tide which flowed strongly toward Christianity during the later thirties and the forties. Such a case was that of Te Awaitai, a mighty warrior and the right-hand man of Te Wherowhero, the Waikato chief-paramount, afterwards elected the *Potatau*, or Maori King. He was a convert of Wallis's at Kawhia. This man had nine wives, of whom eight had to be renounced. Polygamy greatly hindered the Gospel, as in other heathen lands; but the Maori conscience was fairly open on this subject, and the reasonableness of Christ's law was recognized. Te Awaitai chose the name of Wiremu Nera (William Naylor), by which he was known to the day of his death as a thoroughgoing Methodist, and a staunch friend of British rule. He was a man of high character exercising great influence over his fellow countrymen, and filled most offices that a layman can discharge. Wiremu Patene (William Barton²) was one of the heroes of the early Maori Church—a Local Preacher of zeal and power. In 1837 he set out with three companions to visit the chief of a small tribe not far from Hokianga, who was viciously opposed to Christianity. This man, Kaitoke by name, had a priest who

¹ The loss of authority on the part of the Maori chiefs was one cause of the social unsettlement which culminated in the ruinous wars of the fifties and sixties.

² At the beginning baptized Natives commonly took names altogether new, suggested by the Missionaries, which were transformed on the Maori tongue beyond recognition. Later, the Missionaries advised retention of the old surname. To this the people concerned often demurred, because it appeared that the name borne in heathendom had an objectionable significance. When they were allowed to substitute a new Maori surname with a pleasant meaning they were satisfied. This combination became the usual practice.

gave him a consecrated musket and ball-cartridges warranted to kill, while the user should be invulnerable. Threatening to shoot at sight the next Mission teacher who troubled him, Kaitoke was as good as his word ; he fired on Patene and his friends directly they came within range. Two of the approaching party fell—one living only long enough to beg that his death should not be avenged, the other lingering in agony, with prayers for the murderers on his lips. These young men—Matiu (Matthew) and Rihimona—are commemorated as the first martyrs of the New Zealand Methodist Church. Patene escaped, with three bullets through his blanket. The injured tribe assembled to the number of 600. The Christians pleaded for forgiveness ; they were out-voted. Turner and Whiteley, happening to be in the neighbourhood, attempted a parley with the heathen, but were warned off by musket-shots. An engagement then began, which the Missionaries were powerless to avert. The heathen *pah* was stormed, and the survivors captured, including the wounded Kaitoke and his priest. Seventeen men were killed in this affray, and many others wounded. The injured on both sides were tended with equal care. Formerly prisoners would have been devoured, or if too numerous sold for slaves ; now in a short time they were liberated, the loss their village had suffered being deemed sufficient punishment. It was affecting to hear Patene on the next Sunday publicly praying for the slayer of his friends. In the end Kaitoke and his priest both accepted the Gospel. Patene's career was in keeping with this fine beginning. Another powerful and gifted man won for Christ about the same time was Patuone's brother Tamate Waka (Thomas Walker) Nene, the Wesleyan chief whose impassioned speech at the Conference of Waitangi, in February, 1840, brought the Natives round to accept the Treaty which placed New Zealand under the dominion of the British Crown. A scarcely less notable chief, and one whose example told greatly amongst his people—who spared nothing to serve the cause of Christ—was baptized under the name of Epiha Putini (Jabez Bunting), a Methodist nobleman worthy of his name-father ! Bishop Selwyn coveted Putini for the Anglican Church, and, knowing him to be grieved because the Methodist Mission could not afford a Minister for his tribe, he offered to send him a clergyman, provided he would accept rebaptism and ' enter the Church.' Putini asked

the Bishop : ' How many times was Jesus Christ baptized—once or more than once ? ' ' Once only,' was the answer. ' Then *once* will do for me ! ' said the Maori ; and the interview closed. Putini built a large chapel near his residence, where in later years he often preached himself. Such anecdotes could be multiplied *ad libitum*.

Methodism was winning the affection and intelligence of the Maori tribes on the west of the North Island, as the Anglican Mission was doing in its larger sphere on the eastern side. Visitors from distant tribes frequently lodged at Hokianga for months together, for the sake of instruction by the Missionaries. William Woon conducted a class composed of such strangers, out of which many valuable converts were won. By the beginning of the forties the Christianization of the whole Maori people seemed to be in prospect ; fifteen years later, before the outbreak of the war, Whiteley reckoned nine-tenths of the population as adherents of Christianity. So imperative were the demands of the fast-growing work that in March, 1838, when Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs on their way from the Friendly Islands to Van Diemen's Land (whither the last Conference had transferred them) called at Hokianga, they were detained in New Zealand on the authority of a special District Synod summoned by Turner for the purpose. The emergency was of an opposite kind to that which ten years earlier had diverted Turner's course in the opposite direction ; he felt it to be equally compelling. On reference being made to London, the Missionary Committee endorsed this action, which resulted in John Hobbs remaining for the rest of his days a New Zealander.

The next Synod emphasized this intervention by asking Hatton Garder for *ten* additional men ; no smaller reinforcement would meet the calls assailing it from north to south of the island. One of the required ten must be a Hebrew and Greek scholar, competent for Bible translation ; another should be medically qualified. A bookbinder was in request, to help Woon in the work of the press. Hobbs' return was a joyous event. He had the happiness of presiding at the baptism of 140 persons on his first Sunday at Mangungu, of whom 100 were adults. It was noticed with astonishment that though this great Missionary had been four years absent, using all the while another tongue, he preached in Maori on that day with complete ease and fluency.

The five Ministers whom Hobbs found in the District on his return included a man destined to fill a large place in New Zealand Methodism, whose name has not yet appeared. This was James Buller, previously tutor in the Turner family. A young Cornish Local Preacher, he had emigrated to New South Wales with his wife two or three years back, hoping to find some missionary sphere in which he might serve God and mankind. Mr. Turner met with him in Sydney on the eve of his departure for Hokianga. He was at a loss to provide for his children's schooling ; here was the very man required—educated, gentlemanly, enterprising, and a missionary aspirant. The alliance at once was made ; its value was quickly evident. While the tutor was a diligent pedagogue, he applied himself to the Maori language with such success that within twelve months he was able to preach in the vernacular ; he could turn his hand to any work that was going on. Every one saw where James Buller's vocation lay. The October Synod of 1837 recommended him with the utmost confidence for employment by the Conference. The Turner boys had to lose their tutor ; the Mission gained a recruit of first-rate quality. Mr. and Mrs. Buller gave unitedly the fullness of a long and strenuous life to the work of God in New Zealand, promoting it alike in the Maori and colonial fields. Buller's ability was widely recognized by his brethren ; a master-builder of New Zealand Methodism, he was raised in 1864 to the Chair of the Australasian Conference. After his probation he was sent to open a new Mission in the North Wairoa Valley ; here he laboured continuously for fourteen years, his physical strength sustaining his great resources of mind and spirit on this arduous, dangerous field. His gifts were not those of imagination or eloquence, so much as of strong sense and strong will. His dignity of bearing and love of order repressed barbarian licence and colonial looseness of behaviour, and helped to impress on both constituents of the Church 'the right ways of the Lord.' Buller foresaw the future awaiting New Zealand as an English colony ; he sought to prepare the Natives for this eventuality, and to lay the basis of a good understanding between the races. He kept in touch with English thought, and, while buried in the New Zealand forest, made it a rule to write every week a sermon in his mother tongue. When the rush of colonists came, he was ready to

meet it. Trained by a wise mother, his children combined English culture with an adept knowledge of Native life in New Zealand, and took a worthy place in the new order. One of this distinguished family, Sir Walter L. Buller, has been called 'the Audubon' of the islands; his *Manual of the Birds of New Zealand* is the standard authority upon this subject. James Buller has himself left a literary memorial in his *Forty Years in New Zealand* (1878), which supplies valuable data for tracing the early growth of the colony and Commonwealth. Free use of this work has been made by the present writer.

Between the time of Hobbs' arrival and Turner's departure, on the night of August 18, 1838, a tragic calamity befell the Mission. The Mangungu Mission House, occupied by the family of the Turners, was destroyed by fire. The inmates were asleep when the alarm was given, and Mrs. Turner was barely convalescent after a severe illness of ten weeks' duration. She counted the children by the flame light as they gathered from the Hobbs' and her own house. One was missing! Instantly search was made, and her little lad was found still asleep in his chamber. A moment more and rescue would have been impossible. This boy—the Rev. John G. Turner, of the Australasian Conference—lived to succeed to his father's ministry, and to tell the story. The fire had all but seized on Mr. Hobbs' dwelling near by when a sudden change of wind diverted the flames, and the rest of the premises were spared. The damage was estimated at £800, and a second time Mr. and Mrs. Turner lost their earthly goods. It was noticed with gratitude how utterly different was the conduct of the Natives on this occasion from that exhibited at the Wesleydale calamity less than twelve years before. Now the sufferers experienced nothing but sympathy and help, and their distress was turned into thanksgiving. Waka Nene offered his condolence to Mrs. Turner in the following terms:

O mother, do not let thy heart be very much distressed; for though thy home and property are destroyed, thy life, thy husband, and thy children are spared! I have no European clothes to give for your children, but they shall have pork and potatoes to eat, and such things as we have.

The development of the South Sea Missions greatly engaged the attention of the Missionary Committee during the later

thirties. The whole of the Friendly Islanders were turning to God, and a footing had been won amongst their cannibal neighbours, the Fijians. The work in Australia had begun to prosper, and was spreading to the newer colonies of that continent. The five missionary Districts created in the South Seas were closely interlinked, while separated from England by half the circumference of the globe. Experience had shown the impossibility of regulating their affairs in detail from London, and at the same time the dangers of independent action on the part of small and isolated groups of agents, most of them young and inexperienced. It was determined in 1838 to appoint a 'General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in Australasia and Polynesia,' bearing the title first worn by Dr. Coke on his Mission to America, and holding administrative powers parallel to those exercised under this designation by Joseph Stinson in the Canadian Missions and by William Shaw in South Africa. The Chairman of each District was to retain his local authority, and these would form a Council for the generalissimo, who should have eyes and ears for the whole province and be the executive arm of the supreme control in Hatton Garden.

An excellent choice was made for this important office in John Waterhouse, a Preacher of nearly thirty years' standing in England, but still at the height of his powers—a man distinguished by popular gifts, by breadth of mind and fervour of spirit, combined with a large measure of business ability and of brotherly tact. He came out to the colonies with the prestige attaching to a front-rank man in the home ministry; his own bearing and fatherly wisdom secured the willing deference of his brethren on the Mission Field, and won their affection. The General Superintendent's residence was fixed at Hobart Town—the most central point for the five Districts. It was part of the scheme that a missionary ship should be at his service to facilitate his visitations. The *Triton* was forthcoming for the purpose in the course of next year. Nothing could have been happier than this appointment.

Waterhouse arrived on the field early in 1839, and addressed himself vigorously to his duties, engaging in a round of voyages and tours which occupied him for sixteen months. A serious drawback to the Superintendent's efficiency discovered itself, however, in his nervous temperament, particularly in the

liability to sickness, which made sea-voyages distressing and exhausting to him. Labouring incessantly under this discomfort, and bearing the strain of accident and privation less easily than a younger man would have done, Waterhouse's strong constitution began to give way. He did not know how to spare himself. Instead of taking rest upon his return from the outlying islands, he set out toward the close of 1841 on a tour through Van Diemen's Land, in the course of which his health completely failed. Lingered for five months, he died at Hobart on March 30, 1842, in his fifty-third year. No man was able to fill the place which John Waterhouse during these few years had made for himself in the Methodism of the South Seas.

The Missionary Society could not furnish at once the ten men asked for by New Zealand; *five* were sent, doubling the number of the previous staff, four of them accompanying the General Superintendent. The new-comers were John H. Bumby, Samuel Ironside, Charles Creed, John Warren, appointed from England; and James Watkin, brought across from the Friendly Islands. On the other side of the account there had to be set the removal of Nathaniel Turner, in exchange for whom John Hobbs had been already secured for Hokianga. Turner's appointment to the latter post had been understood to be temporary. His large family required opportunities for education not then to be found in New Zealand; moreover, he and his wife had suffered alarming sicknesses, which rendered the change desirable on their account. In August, 1839, with great sorrow on both sides, the Turners took a final farewell of their beloved Maori flock and their missionary colleagues and friends.

Amongst the latter was a young Irish doctor named Richard Day, an ardent Methodist with a peculiar gift for friendship, domiciled for some months in the Turners' house. Dr. Day had been commissioned by a group of friends in Ireland, on the strength of his report, to secure land for them in New Zealand. He purchased a thousand acres at some distance south-east of Hokianga. The intending settlers—twenty-two persons in all—with their families, made a safe voyage as far as Auckland. The vessel called at the Bay of Islands, where two of the immigrants landed, crossing by foot to Hokianga to prepare for the coming of the rest, who sailed round the

Northern Cape. The ship was wrecked at the entrance of Kaipara Harbour, and her passengers, all but one little boy, were drowned almost in sight of their destination. This happened in September, 1841. Of the two who left the ill-fated vessel before the disaster George Stannard was one—a Local Preacher in his native country, and a man ‘cast in no common mould.’ Losing his family by the shipwreck, he abandoned his plans for farming, and attached himself to James Buller, with whom he found a home and congenial employment in the Mission. Two years later he also entered the ministry. Here he made full proof of his original gifts of mind and his intense, self-forgetful devotion. He became a thorough Maori scholar, and opened several new stations. Living till 1888, he spent the latter half of his course as a supernumerary in broken strength, which he continued to exert to the utmost in pulpit and pastoral labours. Dr. Day remained in the medical profession, lodging with the Hobbs family, first in Hokianga and then at Auckland. Of precarious health, he nevertheless reached a good old age. His kindly aspect and pleasant humour lent an unfailing charm to his abounding good works. He was honorary physician and adviser in all kinds of practical matters to the missionary families, and furthered in many ways the work of the Missions. Richard Day’s name was fragrant far and wide as that of ‘the beloved physician’ of the colony.

Chief of the recruits brought from England by John Waterhouse was John H. Bumby, now in the tenth year of his ministry. Like Waterhouse, he was a Yorkshireman; the two had ‘travelled’ together in Birmingham, where they formed a friendship which led to their later association. Though a strong and active man, Bumby—who was one of the most admired of the younger Preachers in the home Circuits and greatly sought after—had been threatened with phthisis; it was hoped that the New Zealand climate would confirm his health. The Committee designated him to succeed Nathaniel Turner in chairmanship. Now in his thirty-first year, he arrived full of energy and hope; his brethren felt that they had got a captain of the right stamp. Without delay he set out, accompanied by Hobbs, on a three months’ voyage, in which they reached the coast of the Middle Island; they surveyed the unoccupied shores about Cook’s Strait, making friends with the Natives and marking out sites for future work. In most places they

were welcomed and found 'a people prepared for the Lord.' Later in the year a shorter tour was taken in the country north of Mangungu, when Wesleydale was revisited and plans for reoccupation were entertained.¹ There was a zest and inspiration in the young Chairman's leadership from which great things were expected. But God willed it otherwise. In May of the next year he proceeded to instal the Missionaries appointed to the newly fixed southern stations, the party sailing in the *Triton* along with Waterhouse,* who was going to Tonga from Hokianga. Bumby decided to return northwards overland, in order to acquaint himself better with the country. He and his Native escort had covered the greater part of the distance, and were crossing the Bay of Thames after visiting the Church Mission in that district, when through mismanagement the canoe was upset, and the Missionary, unable to swim, lost his life by drowning. Thirteen of the twenty perished with their leader. This distressing accident befell on June 26, near Waitemata.

Bumby's younger associates—Ironside, Creed, and Warren—were also men of mark; each of them rendered memorable service on the New Zealand field. Ironside, a fellow student with John Hunt and William Arthur at Hoxton, excelled in energy and preaching power; his temperament was in keeping with his *name*. Creed was a man of gentler mould, apt in teaching and shepherding the flock of Christ and with exceptional gifts of management. Warren, the son of a Norfolk farmer, marked himself out as 'clear-headed and resolute'—he too was a much-admired Preacher, his 'limpid eloquence' being as notable as Ironside's force and passion. These three alike were successful pioneers in the Maori work, gaining a mastery of the language and a sure hold upon the hearts of the people. The two former gave their maturer ministry to Australia; Warren ran his whole course in New Zealand, filling in later years the most important colonial pulpits. He founded the Waima Station, twenty miles inland from Mangungu, and made the valley around that spot to 'blossom as the rose,' both in the material and spiritual sense. These three brought wives

¹ This intention had to be abandoned on Bumby's death.

* On the last Sunday Waterhouse and Bumby spent together at Hokianga before sailing south a memorable love-feast was held, when the Maori converts assembled—in several instances old cannibals whose hands in former days had been imbrued in the blood of each other's kindred—to tell what God had wrought for them.

with them—a welcome accession to the staff ; John Bumby's sister was his companion and housekeeper. After his death she married Gideon Smales. James Watkin, an efficient all-round Missionary and the father of three valued missionary sons, arrived a little later than those above-named ; he had been Nathaniel Turner's colleague in Tonga, where he laboured for the first eight years of his ministry. The ten men whose names figure on the New Zealand Stations for 1838, with Turner at their head, formed as competent, united, and true a Mission staff as any District has ever been blessed with.

In April, 1840, the *Triton* arrived on her first trip, bringing another batch of recruits for New Zealand, in charge of Waterhouse. These were Thomas Buddle, John Skevington, Henry H. Turton, and their wives ; also John Aldred, George Buttle, and Gideon Smales, unmarried. The District had now been granted *more* than the ten new men asked for a while ago ; it was possible to multiply its Circuits at a stroke from four to ten ! Kaikara, Waingaroa, Taranake (New Plymouth) and Port Nicholson make their appearance on the Stations—places which had only received occasional visits hitherto. We content ourselves with the briefest notices of the career of the newly arrived men. Skevington died in five years, through overwork—a man of ordinary talent, whose piety and zeal surmounted the greatest difficulties. Smales was decidedly able, and gave promise of special usefulness ; but after serving effectively for fourteen years, like William White he turned aside to secular business under the pressure of family needs ; but he and his household remained attached and serviceable to their Church. Buttle and Turton both proved good vernacular Missionaries and colonial Ministers in after life. The latter was a man of some learning, and vindicated Methodism tellingly by speech and pen against Bishop Selwyn, on the question of rebaptism and Anglican usurpations. Aldred organized in succession several of the first English Circuits in New Zealand ; he is remembered as a model of ' courtesy and pastoral fidelity, endeared both to old and young.' T. Buddle was the most distinguished of this group of companions. He ranked with Buller in statesmanship, and preceded him in the Presidency of the Australasian Conference. A hard-headed Durham man, he was strong at all points, both in the Maori and English work. Under his ' faithful preaching and impassioned prayers,

an almost continuous revival was seen in the early years of his ministry.' He was a master of Church affairs, and was Lawry's right hand during his General Superintendency. Though bereaved of their brilliant leader Bumby, the New Zealand staff of 1840 remained a powerful body, wanting in weight of years and experience, but full of talent and enterprise, and not without men of judgement and solid character in its ranks.

In 1841 the District was divided into northern and southern sections, Hobbs being designated 'Acting Chairman' of the former, Whiteley of the latter half, under the general oversight of Waterhouse. The Middle Island appears on the Stations in the same year. The name of Auckland—the seat of the newly established British rule—is first recorded in the *Minutes* of 1843, and heads the list of the fifteen Circuits now enumerated. Walter Lawry, as General Superintendent (for New Zealand), was posted there. Since his withdrawal from the Friendly Islands twenty years ago Lawry had served in England, where he rose to District Chairmanship. His appointment over the heads of the tried men on the ground was not altogether relished by the Missionaries, but it was justified by his sound administration and powerful preaching, and by the strong position he won for Methodism in Auckland. The staff received no further addition at this time. The effect of recent reinforcements was seen in the trebling of the New Zealand Church membership between 1839 and 1843. In the latter year it was estimated as 3,259 in number. An appreciable fraction of the total, by this date, must have been English; the returns, unfortunately, do not discriminate between Natives and colonials. This figure remained about the high-water mark of the New Zealand Church in point of numbers for a considerable period. From this time, as the tide of colonial immigration swelled and as Native discontent and unrest increased, our English constituency in the islands grew, and the Maori Churches suffered loss.

Midway in the forties the outlook of the Maori work, for some years so cheering, grew overcast. The clouds darkened, until at the end of the fifties there fell the storm which shattered the Native churches and threatened to destroy the Native race. Had the Missionaries been allowed to pursue their labours undisturbed, with the Anglican and Methodist Missions working in unison, there is reason to suppose that in another generation

the Maori people would have been substantially won for Christ, and an indigenous civilized order of a novel type might have emerged. But such isolation was impossible. The conversion of the Natives had so far advanced that the door was open for colonization ; European traders and settlers, mostly British, were getting a foothold all round the coast—they were no longer in fear of being eaten ! The Maoris were a brave and clever, but not a numerous, people ; it could not be expected that a country so large, matching in size the British Isles, and so inviting by reason of its climate and the wealth of its soil, should remain in the sole possession of some hundred thousand half-nomad barbarians. Everything pointed to British annexation ; if the British Government held off its hands, another European power would inevitably have stepped in.

The occupation was precipitated by an unfortunate train of circumstances, to be referred to later, and colonization came about in a sudden and wholesale fashion, undesirable both for immigrants and Natives. The event was premature from the missionary point of view. The work of the Mission made it possible, but that work had not been carried far enough to prepare the ground, in any moral and Christian sense, for receiving the new population, and to fit the Natives to enter into the new order. Could the irruption have been held back for another ten years, or had it been regulated with a just regard to the rights and welfare of the Native tribes, New Zealand history might have taken a far happier course. As things were, no proper adjustment was attempted. The shock was disastrous, and much of the good already effected for the country perished in the conflict which ensued.

Another cause gravely contributed to the misfortunes which attended this crisis. Ecclesiastical strife aggravated the mischief wrought by political wrong ; the Christian forces were weakened by division when their united strength was most required. A Papist Mission made its appearance near Hokianga, at the time when the Methodist work began to prosper.¹ According to their wont, the Roman priests sought

¹ A French adventurer who called himself Baron de Thierry played a strange part in new Zealand affairs about this time. This man had met Thomas Kendall when he was conducting Hongi on his tour in England, and purchased, for a trifling consideration, a landed property in Northern New Zealand of which Kendall professed to have the disposal, not far from Hokianga. De Thierry came on the scene some years after the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission, attended by a retinue of servants, to take possession of his demesne, and announced himself as ' Charles, by the grace of God Sovereign Lord of New Zealand ' ! He had no title-deeds to show ;

their converts amongst the existing Churches rather than amongst the heathen, and used insidious and unscrupulous arts. They failed to detach any large or valuable part of the Methodist adherents. Happily, by this time, through the labours of the Bay of Islands Missionaries in translation, the full New Testament was available for the people, and the schools had produced intelligent readers; but some unstable converts were captivated, and seeds of mistrust and agitation were sown which bore evil fruit.

More widely and permanently hurtful to the work of God was the dissension between the two Protestant Missions brought about through the action of Dr. Selwyn, first Bishop of the Church of England in New Zealand. George Augustus Selwyn, who entered on his diocese in May, 1841, was in most respects an admirable man—an embodiment of the finest English breeding and culture, a saint in piety, a hero in courage, an athlete in physical activity, a statesman in grasp of affairs, a true Missionary in spirit. He was a young man to boot, of no small self-confidence and strength of will. But Selwyn was a cleric to the backbone, and he came to his work charged with the enthusiasm of the Oxford Movement, and determined to fashion the Church of New Zealand after the new High Church pattern. He found the Wesleyan Mission a chief obstruction in his path. The harmony existing between the Church people and the Methodists was, in his eyes, a scandal. Ever since the alliance between Marsden and Leigh the two bodies had co-operated almost as one.¹ The Natives were hardly aware of any discrepancy. The Sacraments of each Communion were recognized by the other, and Church membership on removal from place to place was interchangeable. The two bodies of Missionaries fraternized, and rendered to each other the kindest offices of friendship. The Bishop's first visitation charge revealed his determination to change all

the Native chiefs denied having made any sale to Kendall. They had offered him land on condition of his coming to live amongst them as their teacher—a condition never fulfilled. The claimant had been cheated! Waka Nene, the principal chief concerned, advised by the Missionaries, in compassion for the French gentleman, made him a grant of valuable land at Hokere. Here de Thierry settled and resided for many years, living in an imposing style without very visible means of support. He rewarded his benefactors by inviting Romanist Missionaries to the island. Subsequently he is believed to have suggested the expedition dispatched to these seas with a view (as many supposed) to planting the French flag on the west New Zealand coast, whose arrival was narrowly anticipated by the declaration of British sovereignty.

¹ The recent attempt of the C.M.S. to shut the Methodists out of Kawhia and the Waikato Valley was admittedly a mistake, due to misjudgement in England rather than to intrusion on the part of the Anglican Missionaries.

that. Addressing himself to the imagination of the Natives, he denounced the Wesleyan Society as 'a crooked branch' and its people as 'a fallen tribe who had no Scriptural Ministers.' From their next Synod the Wesleyan Missionaries sent to their denouncer a respectful remonstrance, to which he replied with the utmost frankness, declaring their ordination to be invalid, their baptisms to be at best the acts of mere laymen, and themselves to be schismatics. This meant, on the Bishop's part, war to the knife. 'Churchmen' everywhere must hold aloof from Methodists; they might not worship together, nor share in any religious offices; and where it was possible to exclude them, Methodist Preachers must not be allowed within the village fence. The effect upon the Native mind of these declarations, and of the systematic excommunication which followed, was most unhappy. Controversy was awakened and dissension created from end to end of New Zealand; the meanest of human passions were roused, and Christianity itself was discredited in the people's eyes. The Papists looked on with glee at the falling out of *Wetere* and *Hahi* (Wesley and the Church), and echoed against Bishop Selwyn and his clergy their own excommunications of the Methodists, impartially branding both parties as heretics. The older Church Missionaries were dismayed,¹ and protested, where they might, against the departure from evangelical and catholic principles; but they were borne down by authority, and in a short time outnumbered by the new clergy whom the Bishop imported.

Between Episcopalian, Methodist, and Romanist the simple Maori stood bewildered! Here was 'another'—nay, *two other* Gospels offered him, in place of the one Gospel he had received. The leaven of Church contention sourly leavened the lump of Maori Christianity. The work of conversion was at many points arrested, and the Church of Christ ceased to present a united front in face of the evils threatening it from racial strife. Outwardly the Anglicans appeared to make great gains by the new policy, but their numerical accessions were largely due to the wholesale baptisms and the easy admission to the Lord's Table which became the rule. Formerly the Missionaries of both Churches had interposed a careful catechumenate between the profession of Christianity

¹ See Richard Taylor, *Past and Present of New Zealand*, 1868.

and the baptismal laver. The Anglican reversion to mediaeval usage removed an indispensable barrier, lowering the standard of Christian life and flooding the Church with unregenerate elements.

Not often has a good and devoted man been the instrument of greater mischief than Bishop Selwyn was through his schismatic High Church principles.¹ If, according to our Lord's prayer, the unity of His people is to bring 'the world' to 'believe that God has sent' Him, then the breaking up of that unity is a sure means to delay the world's conversion. So, alas, it happened to New Zealand in the crisis of the early forties.

¹ It is fair to Dr. Selwyn to say that his ecclesiastical vigour was moderated by time and experience. While in principle he probably remained as 'High' as ever, his practice during the later years of his colonial Episcopate showed a welcome breadth of charity; his bearing toward Nonconformists softened into courtesy, sometimes even into friendliness.

III

ENGLISH AND MAORI

A Land of Promise—The New Zealand Association—Land-grabbing extraordinary—Sir George Grey's Administration—Annexation of New Zealand—A Crown Colony—Beginnings of Conflict—Causes of Discontent—Representative Government—A Land League—Death of John Whiteley—Rebellion—Notable Missionaries—Methodism in the South Island—'The Canterbury Pilgrims'—A separate Conference.

CAPTAIN COOK reported New Zealand as a land of promise for the English colonist; the work of the Missionaries had removed the terror of its cannibalism, and made colonization possible.¹ Temporary lodgements had been effected and places of call secured for many years back by the crews of whaling-vessels at the inviting havens, especially toward the south; and escaped convicts from time to time found refuge on the coast, a few of whom remained permanently, consorting with the Natives. Several hundred British settlers were associated with the Mission on the Bay of Islands, where more than a hundred vessels usually called in the course of the year, before the general immigration, and a few score of Europeans might be found about the Bay of Hokianga, employed in the timber-trade of that locality. The magnificent timber of the country, the fibre of the wild flax, and the kauri gum were recognized as valuable exports.

The forward-looking Missionaries expected the coming of the colonist, at once desiring and fearing it.* They would gladly have delayed the crisis. No one anticipated a flood of invasion so wide and swift as that which set in at the beginning of the forties. Colonization was not effected by degrees, through the accession of private parties of settlers finding their way to the country independently and spontaneously. A

¹ At the first meeting of the Colonial Legislative Council, held in December, 1841, the following acknowledgement was made: 'Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the value and extent of the labours of the missionary body, there can be no doubt that, but for them, a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand.'

* See Morley's *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, p. 143.

quiet infiltration of this kind would have been comparatively manageable, allowing the gradual adjustment of relations between Natives and settlers, and sparing the latter the disappointments and miseries which fell to the lot of many. The business was, in the first instance, engineered by a company which set to work before the islands had been brought under British control or any proper understanding with the Natives had been effected. Colonization was precipitated, with most inadequate preparation and provision. In 1837 the New Zealand Association¹ was formed for the purpose, under the able and vigorous initiation of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. The promoters were ambitious men, whose devotion to patriotic and commercial aims appears to have excluded higher considerations from their minds. They showed little concern for the welfare of the recruits they enlisted in England, and still less for that of the Natives to be dispossessed in New Zealand. Some of their leading agents in the colony were both unscrupulous and incompetent. The lack of principle and conscience in the inception of the New Zealand colonies was at the root of the subsequent agrarian troubles.

Long before the company commenced its operations the British Government had been compelled to interfere in the islands. The Governor of New South Wales in 1814, simultaneously with the establishment of Marsden's Mission, issued a proclamation warning British seamen against maltreatment of the Natives. In 1824 an Act of Parliament extended the jurisdiction of the New South Wales Courts to British subjects in New Zealand. An abominable outrage committed by a sea-captain in 1832 led to the appointment of a Resident Commissioner (to whom a second was added three years later), who should act as magistrate and interpose in disputes between Natives and British. But this officer had no executive power, and there was no central Native tribunal

¹ Afterwards re-formed as the 'New Zealand Company.' Securing powerful political allies, the Association took high-handed measures. Its supporters brought forward, in 1838, a Parliamentary Bill for the establishment of a N.Z. colony, proposing to give them extraordinary powers, which was defeated on the second reading. The matter was the subject of inquiry by a Committee of the House of Lords, before which Mr. Dandeson Coates (on behalf of the C.M.S.) and Dr. John Beecham gave evidence with convincing effect in defence of Maori rights and of the work of Christian Missions, as against the misrepresentations and attempted encroachment of the Association. The two Missionary Societies played a conspicuous part as champions of the Natives. Dr. Beecham made this subject particularly his own, and expounded with great ability the moral and religious interests involved in colonization. The discussion arising over this case affected the whole subsequent course of British colonial policy toward barbarian races.

to which he could appeal. He found himself helpless, and his office was regarded with contempt—the Maoris described him as ‘a man-of-war without guns’! Mr. Busby, the senior Resident, took, however, an important step in 1835, under the alarm caused by the proclamation of the egregious Baron de Thierry, behind whom designs of the French Government were suspected. Busby convened a meeting at Waitangi (near the Bay of Islands) attended by several score Maori chiefs—some of them men of weight and mark—who signed a declaration to the effect that the sovereignty of ‘the United Tribes of New Zealand’ was vested in ‘the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity’; and further, that the said chiefs forbade the exercise of any powers of government in the islands by others than themselves or their delegates, acting under ‘laws regularly enacted by them in congress assembled.’¹ In the conclusion of this document the hope is expressed that ‘the King of England would continue to be the parent’ of the infant State, and would ‘protect’ it ‘from all attempts on its independence.’²

From this time events ripened fast. The affairs of New Zealand became the subject of Parliamentary discussion and inquiry in England. The Association above referred to, following on the success of similar plans in Australia, was constituted for the purpose of planting the island with British settlers, and secured a large degree of popular favour and financial support. The company sent agents to New Zealand to prospect in its behalf and to negotiate the purchase of land. Rival land-seekers flocked to the islands, each of them ‘doing that which was right in his own eyes.’ There was a rush of speculation in New Zealand soil—a perfect carnival of land-grabbing. Even the two British Residents took the opportunity to enrich themselves. The Natives were eager to sell; great slices of land might be bought at a penny an acre, or less! Sometimes money was paid over; in other cases a few score old muskets, a keg of gunpowder or rum, would clinch the bargain. The more mischievous the form of the purchase-price, the more tempting it often proved to the seller,

¹No such system of laws, nor congress for the framing of laws, was in existence. The New Zealanders were ruled by tribal custom, arbitrarily administered by the local chiefs, acting singly or in consultation. The Waitangi meeting aimed at *laying down* a Native Policy.

²Saunders’ *History of New Zealand*, pp. 108, 109.

and the greater the profit. It was a discovery to the Maoris that land had a saleable value ; this commodity supplied them with a ready, and, as at first it seemed, an inexhaustible means of obtaining the goods most coveted. Moreover, the chiefs of many districts at this period desired to attract settlers to their several localities, appreciating the advantages of trade with the White man. So for some time land-purchase went on merrily.

The Maoris held the soil in communal possession, each tribe ranging over a definite area, while its people occupied and cultivated at a given time the merest fraction of the territory it claimed—the Native population probably did not, when most numerous, exceed a quarter of a million. The people at that period had a land system of their own, of an elaborate nature, which no British land agent took the trouble to understand. Every acre was owned ; the tribes were jealous of their rights, fighting desperately for disputed ground. It was proverbial that ‘land and women are the roots of war’!¹ But with collective ownership, complicated by claims of individual or family occupation, the right of sale was often widely distributed and hard to determine, and purchases supposed to be complete were in many cases made from individuals whose lien on the soil was limited, and whose deed of sale had no endorsement from the co-proprietors. The buyers and sellers had wholly discrepant notions of landed property. Beside this, they were foreigners to each other, and communicated through interpreters, usually Englishmen domiciled in New Zealand. The deeds were drawn up in English, and chiefs were induced to put their names to them. Of their real contents they knew little or nothing. There were, to be sure, honourable exceptions ; and many instances occurred of bona fide purchase, in which the buyer took care that the seller understood what he was about, and gave him solid value ; but, viewed as a whole, the land dealings of this period were such as to bring deep disgrace upon the British name.

Transactions carried on under these conditions, with no effective control from law or public opinion, were bound to issue in misunderstanding, trickery, and embroilment. On

¹ The latter, as well as the former, of these causes was at the bottom of the Maori quarrel with the *Pakeha*. The violation by licentious Europeans of their women excited burning anger in the Native breast.

so huge a scale were the Natives cheated by land-sharks that when, in the first years of colonial Government, a Land Court was constituted and the past purchases were revised, the twenty millions of acres claimed by some three hundred buyers were reduced to 100,000! The restitution effected through this inquiry was, after all, but partial and imperfect. The New Zealand Company was the greatest sinner; it actually sold 10,000 acres of New Zealand soil in London 'before the title to a single one had been secured.'¹

The Missionaries looked on, warning and protesting, but powerless to stop the mischief—a sowing of fraud to be reaped in bloodshed. The Maoris were not men to be exploited with impunity. They woke up to understand how they had been fooled, and for what a 'mess of pottage' their birthright had been sold. They made deep vows of revenge.

On the other side it should be said that the Government, when at last it got the matter in hand, endeavoured to rectify the injustice. Sir George Grey's administration laid itself out, with considerable success, to win the confidence of the Natives and to help them to meet the altered conditions. It is true also that when the transference had been effected and the new owners installed, there remained in Maori hands many millions of acres of their Native soil, amply sufficient for their maintenance, had they been content with the reduced ownership and prepared to develop the land by agricultural labour. A certain proportion of them did this quite successfully. But civilization is not learnt in a day. It takes several generations to transform a race of forest-roamers, habituated to wide spaces and the free life of nature, into a steady farming-folk. The Maoris felt themselves fenced off, cribbed and confined by the *Pakeha*, who had cunningly filched from them the best part of their country.

The proceedings we have described had forced the hand of the British Government and compelled annexation. Anarchy—or possibly French occupation, foreshadowed by de Thierry's pretensions—was the alternative. Hundreds of British emigrants were already on the way to these shores,² who, if

¹ The facts of these astounding scandals are stated in Morley's *History of New Zealand Methodism*, p. 148.

² The *Tory* sailed for Port Nicholson, carrying the first contingent of settlers engaged by the N.Z. Company, in April, 1839. The company appears to have hurried off these people in order to put pressure on the Government at home, which was reluctant to tackle the N.Z. problem.

not looked after by their country, must start some government of their own. In haste Captain William Hobson, R.N., was dispatched to New Zealand by Sir George Gipps, the then Governor of New South Wales, under the name of British Consul, but with further instructions to be acted upon as occasion served. Hobson found decisive action to be necessary, and soon after his arrival proclaimed the Islands a Dependency of the British Crown, producing his commission as Lieutenant-Governor.

The Maoris were no parties to this *coup d'état*, which set aside the Waitangi declaration of 1835. An appeal for annexation had been made to the British Crown three years before ; but this proceeded from English settlers and traders, with a few missionary signatures added—no Maori name figured on the document. It was all-important to gain the consent of the Natives to the setting up of the British flag. Fortunately this was secured.

On the advice of the Bay of Islands Missionaries, Captain Hobson summoned another meeting of the chiefs at Waitangi, which was held on February 6, 1840, and attended by forty-six principal chiefs and 500 of lower rank. The leading Europeans—settlers and Missionaries—of the Bay of Islands, Ironside and Warren of the Wesleyan Mission, and the Roman Bishop Pompallier were present. Henry Williams acted as interpreter and mediator in the negotiations. The Native chiefs were at first divided in opinion. Hone Heke protested against the sacrifice of independence, and others followed ; but Waikati Nene, supported by Patuone, carried the assembly with him in his argument for a peaceful union with the British Empire. In the end the chiefs resolved unanimously to acknowledge the sovereignty of Queen Victoria and to accept the status of British subjects, while the British Government recognized the authority of the Maori chiefs over their people, and their ownership of the island and all existing property, subject to the right of pre-emption on the part of the Government covering land sales. Upon these lines the Treaty of Waitangi was drawn up, and signed by all the leading chiefs present, Hone Heke leading the way. This agreement forms the basis of the political constitution of New Zealand.

The treaty was defective in two respects ; it assigned to the chiefs the position of landlords in a sense unknown to Maori

law and injurious to the tribal constitution ; and the Maori signatures represented only the northern half of the North island, the southern tribes having no voice in the decision. The Missionaries, to whose influence the settlement was due, secured the acquiescence of the more important of the outlying chiefs ; by tacit consent the provisions of the treaty were recognized throughout New Zealand. The Maori leaders who had put themselves under British rule were the most enlightened and powerful in the country, and most in contact with Europeans ; and their initiative was implicitly followed by the people. At this date, it must be observed, the fever of land-selling was at its height, and the Maoris were eager for the increase of European traffic ; they had not realized the extent to which they were parting with their lands, nor the magnitude of the coming invasion, and its consequences for their old way of life. As shipload after shipload of *Pakeha* landed at one chief harbour after another, and as the newcomers spread over the purchased areas and began to fence in the familiar haunts and vantage-grounds, to clear the forests and to guard the ports, changing the face of the country, restraining movement and imposing disabilities in all directions, British friendship assumed another aspect, and bitter resentment was awakened in the Maori breast.

Hobson's lieutenantancy became a Governorship in 1841, when New Zealand was put on the footing of a regular Crown colony. The task of its administration required strong and skilful hands. Governor Hobson was a kindly, upright, well-intentioned man ; but his training in the Navy had not fitted him for work like this, and he depended on officials who served him and the country ill. The Colonial Office had no firm grasp of the situation, and appeared chiefly anxious to avoid responsibility and expense. In poor health when he arrived, Hobson found the position beyond his mastery. Between the Colonial Office, the Sydney Government, the New Zealand Company, the Maori chiefs, his missionary advisers,¹ and his uncongenial executive, he was driven to distraction. The

¹ Henry Williams led the opposition to the schemes of the N.Z. Company ; he had exercised a strong influence at Auckland. Unfortunately he had invested largely in land on his private account, and so came under the suspicion—unjust in his case but sufficiently plausible—of business rivalry. The purchase of land by means of fire-arms and strong drink was a principal ground of Williams' quarrel with the company, beside the deception that was practised. Governor Gipps, of New South Wales, was also opposed to the company's proceedings ; he nominated the chief New Zealand officials.

difficulties of administration were aggravated by the choice of Auckland for capital, which lay at the opposite end of the island from Port Nicholson (Wellington), the head quarters of the New Zealand Company, where a kind of rival Government sprang into existence. Worn out with grief and vexation, the Governor died in September, 1842.

Captain Hobson's death left the reins of power in the hands of the Administrator (now becoming Acting-Governor), who had been a chief cause of his troubles—a man with abundance of vigour, but lacking in temper and judgement. Under Shortland's interim rule the disaster of Wairoa came about, the full story of which was told forty-eight years later by Samuel Ironside, then in charge of the Cloudy Bay Mission and a witness of the sorrowful events. The town of Nelson had been founded in 1842 on the northern shore of the Middle Island, where the New Zealand Company dumped down hundreds of emigrants with inexcusable want of foresight. The cultivable land near the harbour in possession of the Company proved to be of poor quality and limited area ; some better soil had to be found for the settlers. Upon this Colonel Wakefield, the company's New Zealand manager, made claim to a large and eligible estate in the Wairoa Valley not far inland from Nelson, sending his employés to survey the ground and stake it out for occupation. The two Native chiefs concerned lodged a protest at Nelson, and gave warning that the attempt, if persisted in, would be forcibly opposed. The surveyors arrived ; their pegs were pulled up and their huts destroyed. The Commissioner for the examination of land titles was expected shortly on the spot, and would investigate the Wairoa claim in due course ; Mr. Ironside begged the company's agent to wait his arrival, and to submit the case to him—a course agreed to by the Maoris. Instead of this the agent took out a warrant for arson against his opponents, and returned to the Wairoa with a posse of armed police, headed by the Magistrate of Nelson, a hot-headed and blustering nominee of Shortland's, who loudly declared his intention to arrest the incriminated chiefs, openly bringing handcuffs for the purpose. Insult was thus added to injury, and Maori pride was stung to the quick.

The chiefs appeared on the contested ground prepared for resistance, with a force of a hundred disciplined Natives.

Ironside's Christian Maoris strove to interpose, their leader holding out his open New Testament and crying: 'Don't fight! Don't fight! This book says it is sinful to fight. The land has become good through the preaching of the Missionaries; don't make it bad again!' He was pushed aside. After a brief parley, ending with the attempt to handcuff the accused chiefs, the sixteen police armed with muskets pushed forward, and an English gun went off, apparently by accident. The Maoris opened fire; the English replied, and a Maori woman was shot—as ill fortune would have it, the wife of one of the two chiefs and the daughter of the other.¹ This infuriated the Natives, who rushed on the little English band wielding their tomahawks, and overpowered them instantly. Half of the sixteen musketeers were cut down, and others were taken prisoners and killed in hot blood; the rest fled to Nelson. Twenty-two White men fell in this affray. Irreparable damage was done to the prestige of the new rulers; the encounter went to destroy amongst the Maoris both faith in British justice and fear of British prowess.² The naval Commander sent from Sydney to investigate the Wairoa affair, when called upon by the Nelson authorities to deal summary punishment to the Natives, refused to take any such action. Even had the claim of the company to the estate been sound, the attempt at occupation *pendente lite* was indefensible.

The Natives concerned in the fight fled from the district in fear of vengeance, but they were not pursued. A violent ferment took place amongst the Maoris on both sides of Cook's Strait; had they risen in a body, a general massacre of Europeans would have resulted. The infant colonies of Port

¹ The father was Rauparata, the son-in-law Rahaetai. Rauparata was a notorious cannibal and freebooter. He had played in the South Island some years before this date a part resembling that of Hongi in the North, and to his name some of the blackest stories in Maori tradition are attached. Both men escaped punishment on this occasion; but they remained at enmity with the Government, and suffered disaster in subsequent collisions. Bad as Rauparata's record was, there is ground to believe that he had right on his side in the Wairoa quarrel. Commissioner Span bore testimony to the remarkable straightforwardness and honesty of the Maoris in these land disputes, with which the chicanery practised by many of the Whites stood in melancholy contrast.

² Saunders, in his *History of New Zealand*, which we have quoted several times, gives a full account of the Wairoa conflict, in close agreement with the statements of Ironside reported by Morley. Saunders was living in Nelson at the time; he claims to have been the first passenger to land from the first emigrant-ship which reached the shore. He formed an unfavourable estimate both of Colonel Wakefield, the manager, and of Captain Arthur Wakefield, who was in charge of the company's affairs at Nelson—brothers of E. G. Wakefield. The former he regards as incompetent rather than dishonest.

Nicholson and Nelson, badly organized and without military defence, lay for the moment at the mercy of the Natives, who had a supply of fire-arms and were trained in no despicable fashion. Flushed with the easy victory at the Wairoa River, several of the heathen chiefs urged a general attack. Their design was prevented by the Christian converts, who now formed a considerable proportion of the Native population. To this interposition and to the influence of Octavius Hadfield and Samuel Ironside, the Anglican and Methodist Missionaries of the districts bordering on the Strait, the settlements owed their preservation. The Cloudy Bay Mission, up to this time prosperous and full of promise, reporting at its maximum 800 Church members,¹ had to be closed in consequence of the dispersal of the people ensuing on the rebellion. Ironside was removed to Wellington, a Native Preacher being left in charge of the remnant on the coast.

The new Governor, Fitzroy, arrived in December, 1843, to find the colony in an almost desperate situation. The treasury was empty, the civil officials unpaid, the emigrants destitute, the Natives clamouring for redress; business was at a standstill. Like his predecessor, this gentleman was a naval officer with little aptitude for the duties imposed upon him. His policy was that of the high hand; he assumed toward the chiefs a threatening attitude, which provoked rather than frightened them. Government had arrested land sales since the Treaty of Waitangi, with a view to stop the scandals of the open market, intending that future dealings should pass through its own hands; but its poverty forbade immediate purchases, and more than enough land had been sold to meet legitimate wants, could it only be taken out of the grasp of the forestallers. The chiefs, however, still wishful to sell, were angry at the closing of their market. They were further chagrined by the customs duties which had been imposed under Hobson's régime in the attempt to meet financial deficit. These were so severe as to strangle seaborne trade. The Natives keenly resented the imposition. Ruinous taxation, it appeared, was the chief 'privilege' conferred by British rule! Fitzroy endeavoured to remove the principal grievance by allowing the Natives to sell their land subject to a charge upon

¹ Shortly before this date Ironside's Native flock had built by their own labours a chapel of the estimated value of £1,500, which cost the Missionary Society no more than £40.

the purchaser for Crown Grant and title ; but the royalty was fixed at a rate prohibitive except in the case of the highest-priced areas.

These causes of complaint occasioned lively and widespread discontent ; a general disappointment followed the setting-up of British Government. Its inefficiency, loudly proclaimed by the White people themselves, was patent to Maori intelligence, and the able and friendly chiefs whose influence predominated in the North Island appeared to hold the *Pakeha* at their mercy, and smiled at the Governor's bluster. The simmering resentment broke out in the rebellion of Hone Heke and the war of 1844-46. On July 8 of the former year this chief cut down the British flagstaff at Kororarika, the coastguard station on the Bay of Islands, and removed the signal-balls, by way of protest against the import duties.

Hone Heke was a Maori of the new type. Educated at the Keri Keri School, he had imbibed English ideas and some Christian sympathies. At the same time he was a high-spirited patriot, and possessed intellectual capacity and powers of leadership developed by European instruction. His wife, who had, like himself, received missionary training, was daughter to the famous Hongi. Leader of the opposition at the Waitangi Conference of 1840, Hone Heke had signed the Treaty, like some other chiefs, against his previous convictions. Now he rued his consent ; he and his people, he protested, had been deceived ; the British promises were broken, and the rights of the Maoris trampled upon. There was a measure of justice in his complaints, and sympathy was felt for him by many opposed to the rebellion. The Governor sent for soldiers to Sydney, though warned of the provocative effect of this step by the loyal chiefs, who undertook to deal themselves with Hone Heke and minimized the significance of the outbreak. The Legislative Council, taking alarm, reduced the land royalty (from 10s. to 1d. per acre !), and substituted for the obnoxious duties an income-tax (which proved equally objectionable in another direction) ; they advised the return of the soldiers to Sydney. These vacillations and revulsions in policy discredited the Government even more than its blunders ; they revealed the absence of settled principles and of firm guidance at the helm.

Refusing to make amends, in the following January Hone

Heke was proclaimed a rebel, the Governor offering a reward of £100 for his apprehension. This drove him to madness—it was ‘offering to buy him like a pig!’ He was joined by an older chief named Rawati, a renowned fighter, who brought a large accession to his force. Auckland was threatened with attack. Hone Heke rushed the blockhouse guarding the Customs Station at Kororarika, captured the neighbouring European settlement, and made a number of prisoners, whom he treated like a gallant adversary. Saunders declares that throughout this bloody day ‘the chivalrous generosity of Heke and his followers’ was conspicuous; not a single woman or child was injured. Bishop Selwyn, who was allowed to move freely amongst the enemy, testified warmly to their good conduct. Christians as well as heathen were in the ranks of the rebels. As at the Wairoa River, the little British force was badly handled.

The capital was now in serious danger. Headed by Waka Nene, who took the field against his fellow countrymen, the Christian chiefs of the North drove back the rebels. Nene begged the Governor to leave the business to the loyal Maoris, but British pride would not stoop to this. A new force was hastily gathered of 350 soldiers and volunteers—too few for the purpose—and in April an attempt was made to storm Hone Heke’s *pah*, which was defeated with heavy loss. He strengthened his fortifications, and the war dragged on. Fitzroy was recalled by the Imperial Government before the end of this year, and Sir George Grey, transferred from South Australia, took his place. Gradually the ship of state was righted, and Grey’s eight years’ administration set New Zealand affairs upon a creditable and even prosperous footing. The war was ended by the capture of the rebel fortress in January, 1846. The vanquished Maoris were treated handsomely; their clean fighting had won the respect of their enemies.

Their lands were restored; they were treated with confidence, and for the rest of their lives were as faithful in their allegiance as they had been noble in their resistance to foreign dominion (Saunders).

In the manner of concluding this unhappy struggle Sir George Grey retrieved the blunders of his predecessors. Hone Heke died two years later, a broken-hearted man.

Sir George Grey saved the colony from imminent ruin; he

could not avert the racial struggle for which events were making. He laid himself out to conciliate the Maoris ; he learnt their language and acquainted himself with their legends. He had formed a high estimate of their capabilities. He encouraged Maori intercourse with Europeans, and insisted at all points on just dealing and consideration towards them. A strong personal attachment bound together the Governor, Waka Nene, and Te Whero Whero, the great Waikato leader, who was afterwards the Native King. The last-named, in his prime, was a genuine statesman, distinguished by rare personal dignity, a calm temper, and a sound judgement. His whole weight was thrown on the side of moderation in the earlier troubles. Grey was bent on ' hastening the exchange of the restless, savage customs ' of the Natives ' for the blessings and luxuries of peace, law, and order.' He freely advanced money to promote the improvements amongst them, which, says Saunders, was always honestly repaid.

His detractors stigmatized the Governor's open-handedness as ' a sugar-and-blanket policy,' but in his hands it proved successful and economical. On the Maori side there were those who held aloof, nursing their resentments, and who regarded the Government liberalities as baits and bribes. In disaffected minds the conviction was sown which, once firmly rooted, spread like an evil, poisonous weed—that the land-sellers had *sold their country* to the foreigners. The constant influx of colonists, their undreamed-of numbers, their exclusive occupation of the best districts, and the wealth they drew out of the soil, heaped fresh fuel unceasingly on the flame of indignation in the breast of the Maori irreconcilables during the thriving years of Grey's governorship.

Toward the end of the forties the colonists began to find themselves cramped for want of space.¹ The chiefs were less and less willing to sell ; and a cry was raised for the confiscation or enforced sale of unoccupied land in Native possession. Measures for this purpose were actually drafted by the Colonial Office ; their execution was only prevented by the strongest protests on the part of the Governor, supported by the

¹ A great part of the land secured in the first rush had been bought by capitalists, who locked it up with a view to future increment of value, or held it for the mere pride of owning great estates. The land-monopolists, acting the part of the dog in the manger, to whose greed the war was largely due, have been drastically dealt with by the legislation of the N.Z. Parliament of recent years.

Missionaries. Such a step, they showed, abrogating the Treaty of Waitangi, would be a glaring breach of faith certain to entail a race-war throughout the islands. In 1848 Dr. Beecham addressed, on behalf of the Missionary Committee, a clear and outspoken memorandum to the Colonial Secretary to this effect. The instructions thus complained of were withdrawn. At the same time the Colonial Government found the opportunity to buy up a large unused area in the South Island,¹ by the allocation of which the strain for the present was relieved. But the chiefs had taken notice of the agitation against their land rights, and the fears of encroachment thus aroused did not subside. Writing from Hokianga, Hobbs notes in 1851 the disposition of the Natives to move from place to place and cultivate patches of land, now at this spot, now at that, which they exhausted by continuous cropping, in order to assert their title to their widely spread holdings—a habit rendering them practically homeless, and fatal to religious training and progress in civilized life.

In 1852, before Sir George Grey's administration ended, the New Zealand Company was dissolved by Act of Parliament, but the evil of its early misdoings lived long after it. The last achievement of Grey's administration was the introduction of representative Government in 1853. An elected House of Representatives was constituted, balanced by a nominated Upper House, which perpetuated the old Legislative Council. The names of the six provinces—Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington (in the North Island) ; Nelson, Canterbury, Otago (in the South)—indicate the distribution at this date of the European settlements, whose population now amounted to close upon 32,000, brought together in thirteen years of immigration. Sir George Grey sailed for England in December, 1853. James Buller sums up his work in terms of eulogy for his great ability, his sympathetic nature, and warm interest in the Natives ; but he regards his administration as that of a benevolent autocrat, who ' failed ' to build up ' institutions suitable to the peculiar condition of the Natives,' and whose ' influence therefore ceased ' with his personal presence.²

¹ This was previously called the ' Middle Island,' but the name ' South ' came into use for convenience. The southernmost of the three islands of the group (Stewart Island) is comparatively insignificant.

² See *Forty Years in New Zealand*, p. 387. Saunders reviews Grey's career with almost unqualified admiration.

During the interregnum pending the arrival of the new Governor, Sir Thomas Gore Brown (who landed in September, 1855), the first Parliament met at Auckland. Its meeting was signalized by an unseemly conflict between the Acting Governor and the Representative Assembly, in which the opposition was led by Gibbon Wakefield, who, now that his company was wound up, had planted himself in the colony. A violent outbreak of faction thus marked the beginning of New Zealand's political life, shaking the ill-compacted social fabric. The new Governor was not the man to reconcile the jarring elements. Brown

allowed his personal friends to urge him to action in which the imperial, the Maori, and the colonial interests were all fatally sacrificed, . . . taking the first false steps which proved so costly to England and to both races in New Zealand.¹

The Natives, already vexed by the removal of Grey, their protector, took fresh alarm at his successor's proclamations; their landed possessions, they were persuaded, were more in danger than ever.

The fear and disquiet took expression in two movements, at first disconnected, whose joint operation issued in the great war of 1860-70. In 1853 a Land League was formed in the Taranaki district of Maoris binding themselves to resist the further selling of the soil to foreigners. Its action led before long to a tribal conflict in which the would-be seller was defeated and killed, the Government looking idly on. The idea of the League spread rapidly; all the elements of race-antagonism and land-jealousy, embittered by the memory of old wrongs, were gathered into it. Clan-feuds were revived; boycotting and murder were resorted to by the more turbulent spirits; the League grew into a dangerous nationalist conspiracy. Many Christian Natives enrolled themselves in it; many more sympathized with its aims, and thought it high time to make a stand for the people's rights in the soil.

In the wake of this agitation the notion of a Maori monarchy sprang up. Tribal division, and the lack of a common head, had been the weakness of the race from the beginning. The example of the British Empire, and the lessons of the Old Testament, presented a new ideal. While inter-tribal life

¹ Saunders' *History of New Zealand*, pp. 319-20.

was full of rivalry and disorder, British rule failed to remedy its defects. The foreign law unsettled Native customs, and yet was feebly and uncertainly enforced ; mal-administration and miscarriages of justice were notorious. The better-minded amongst the older Maoris were shocked by the demoralization of the youth, who were learning the vices without the restraints of civilization, and scoffed at paternal authority. The wish to guard their children, amongst whom physical degeneracy was setting in, and in particular to protect them from strong drink,¹ was a motive contributory to the inception of the King Movement. The circle of Waikato chiefs with whom it originated were at the outset loyal men, many of them pupils and friends of the Missionaries ; their aim was to supplement, not to supplant, the British sovereignty, to establish an effective and legitimate *imperium in imperio*. 'The brain and organizer of the movement was Tamihana (Thompson), a young man of European education and high character, representing the flower of Maori culture.' After long negotiations and assurances of peaceful purpose given to the Government, Te Whero Whero was elected King Potatau of the Maoris by a great assembly held in the Waikato Valley at the centre of the North Island in 1856. This 'wonderfully able' man (as Saunders calls him), who had been a personal friend and ally of Sir George Grey, was now fast ageing, and died in a few months after his election ; he had been chosen against his will, overborne by the insistence of his juniors.² Upon the setting up of the King there followed the establishment of a Court, with military guards and royal etiquette, the independent promulgation of laws and appointment of the magistrates, and the declaration of a boundary line beyond which the Queen's Writ should not run. When things had come to this pass war was inevitable.

The definite rupture came about through the taking up by the Maori Government of the Waitara land quarrel in 1860.⁴

¹ The protective legislation of Government, in this and in kindred matters, was wholly inadequate ; the statutory prohibitions were, to a great extent, a dead letter.

² See Morley's *History*, p. 161.

³ The son who succeeded to Te Whero Whero was weak and pliable, and fell into bad hands.

⁴ The Waitara River, rising in the Waikato country, reaches the sea a little north of New Plymouth, midway on the west coast of the North Island. The Waitara Valley was the centre of a widely influential Methodist Mission, under the care of John Whiteley. On this ground the third Native Institution for the training of Preachers and Teachers had been recently planted.

These events carry us beyond the limit of the present work (1855), but their causes lay much farther back. The Waitara dispute was one of quite an ordinary kind. Land was sold to the Government by a sub-chief, whose ownership was in dispute. The seller was murdered by Land Leaguers. Without inquiry into the disputed title¹ Government took possession while it proceeded against the murderers, whose apprehension was resisted. The Waikato King sent troops to the help of the rebels. So the ten years' war began which desolated the provinces of Taranaki and Waikato and destroyed the Native churches. For the time the prosperity of the islands was wrecked ; the colony was saddled with debt ; the progress of the Maoris was thrown back for a generation. Ten thousand British troops were employed to crush forces rarely amounting to half their number under arms. Avoiding open encounters, the rebels kept up a guerilla warfare amongst the forests and in the mountainous interior, swooping down in raids on the coast-settlements where opportunity offered.

It was in one of these attacks that John Whiteley fell in 1869 near New Plymouth, when going his rounds of visitation, as he had done fearlessly throughout the conflict. He was on his way, unawares, to an English house which the raiding party had just sacked, murdering the family. He was challenged as he approached. 'Go back, Whiteley,' cried a voice, 'your place is not here.' 'My place is here,' he replied, 'where my children are doing evil!' and he rode in. Then shots rang out. First his horse fell, and the old man kneeled in prayer beside it ; the next volley killed him. By a strange irony the captain of the troop was named Honi Weteri (*John Wesley* by baptism). A better friend of the Maoris than John Whiteley never lived ; and they knew it. His death spread dismay and lamentation amongst the insurgents ; it was a principal factor in bringing about the cessation of the struggle, which ensued in the following year. As time went on the war had assumed a character of exasperation. The chivalry of Hone Heke was thrown aside ; the Maoris reverted to heathen and savage practices, and atrocious deeds were committed. When the rebels at last laid down their arms, it was in sullen exhaustion.

¹ The title on which this land was sold was subsequently admitted by the Government to be invalid, and an offer was made to cancel the bargain. But it was too late. This was after Sir George Grey had been replaced in the Governorship (1861) with the hope of mollifying the Maoris.

The rebellion had been apparently on the point of collapsing in 1863, when the smouldering fire was fanned into a blaze by the rise of the Hau-hau fanaticism—so named from the barking cry of its votaries in their dances. This was an amalgam of Bible traditions and Romanist teaching with heathen devilry, making up ‘one of the most disgusting and terrible superstitions that ever found lodgement in diseased brain or perverted heart.’ Its originator, a crazy Taranaki Native, gave himself out as a medium of the angel Gabriel. He promised to his followers invulnerability—they would drive the *Pakeha* into the sea! They killed an English military captain and preserved his head as a fetish, which they carried round the villages, professing to divine by it. A blasphemous liturgy was invented and an orgiastic worship introduced which revived the latent savagery of the Maori nature. Hau-hauism has so much of Christian colouring that it might be regarded as a Maori *heresy*. It swept thousands of the less stable missionary converts into backsliding, in which their last state was worse than the first.

This imposture supplied a kind of religion for the nationalist movement. The political leaders had too much intelligence to believe in it, but they fostered the delirium for its effect in rousing the popular passions. Though for the time inspired with a frantic energy, from that moment their cause was ruined. Massacres of isolated European settlements and orgies of blood now marked the track of the Maori forays. Beside the revered Whiteley an Anglican Missionary named Volckner fell, hideously murdered, a victim to the blood-thirst awakened in the later stages of the war. The Hau-hau religion appealed to tendencies deep in the Maori nature, and did not die out with the cessation of the war; it still lingers amongst the uncivilized Natives in the recesses of the country.

Of the total Native population estimated in 1860—something like 100,000—perhaps a quarter remained loyal. The tribes living north of Auckland, who had first come under missionary influence and were more Christianized, held to the British flag, as did most of the southern Maoris round Wellington and beyond Cook’s Strait, and many on the east of the North Island. The loyalist Natives gave assistance of extreme value, especially in the closing movements of the war, which was terminated in fact by a force of colonial volunteers and

Maori auxiliaries, when the British regulars had been withdrawn. But the cause of religion suffered amongst the loyal Maoris only less than amongst the rebels. Their minds were unhinged by the excitement of the time, and their morals suffered from association with the White soldiers. The Native pastors, in almost every instance, proved steadfast; but a number of Local Preachers and Church officers were led astray. At the end of the war the Maori Church membership was but a fifth of its former figure; the remnant were dispirited and wellnigh hopeless for the future of their race.

For ten years or more the defeated Maoris held aloof, retreating into the woods and mountains and shunning intercourse with the foreigner. The lands held formerly by the chiefs were confiscated on a large scale. But in the eighties they began to yield to kindly overtures. Coming out of their hiding-places, they entered into European employment, resumed the cultivation of their fields, and sent their children again to school. Their natural cleverness and business aptitude enabled them to recover lost ground. They took the place offered them in the political life of the State; and the Maoris now elect, under manhood suffrage, four delegates to the New Zealand House of Commons, allotted in proportion to their numbers.¹ They have stately a representative sitting in the Cabinet. Colour-prejudice is dying down in the country; mutual respect and a real friendship appear to have taken its place. Honourable inter-marriage is fairly frequent, and it seems likely that the races will blend in the future New Zealand constituency.² At the Dardanelles a troop of Maori volunteers fought shoulder to shoulder with the bravest of the British. 'We are all proud of our Maoris,' said a New Zealand officer visiting England to the writer the other day. The Native constitution seems to be at length acclimatized to the new atmosphere, and is surmounting the diseases, moral and physical, incident to the contact of a barbarous people with civilization; the latest statistics show a turn in the tide of population, and encourage the hope that this noble Native race will 'not die, but live, to declare the doings of Jehovah.'

¹ The Native voters are not merged amongst the Whites, but form four separate constituencies. The Maori Members of Parliament are on precisely the same footing as the rest, and hold their own with marked ability. This arrangement is said to work excellently.

² The Whites now outnumber the Browns by nearly twenty to one.

The change in the social and political outlook of the Maoris which has come about in the last thirty years may be traced to the renewal, gradually effected, of their Christian faith. The Missionaries, always their best friends, sought them out, and gradually conquered their sullenness and brought them out into the light. The group of elder Missionaries, whose names appeared in the last chapter, had most of them ceased from their labours, through death or retirement or withdrawal to other fields, before the war closed, having suffered the unspeakable grief of seeing the harvest they had sown, once so full of promise, blighted and trampled. Never could the glow and the romance of the springtime of New Zealand Missions be revived.

James Buller and Thomas Buddle were the only leaders of the early time left to take up the work of reconstruction. For ten or fifteen years after 1870 the task was one of some difficulty and disappointment; broken by defeat and unreconciled in heart, the Maoris were slow to resume the old relations, even with men they had counted as fathers. The former Native Methodist Circuits were reduced to two or three Missions, superintended by English Ministers, including a number of widely scattered Stations, at which Native Preachers were planted out. James Watkin's work in the Otago Province of the South Island, through its distance from the seat of war, had suffered comparatively little, and the Mangungu Circuit—the mother Mission of the North Island, not far remote from Auckland—was never broken up, though its operations declined and its membership was shrunken.

Several men had joined the New Zealand Mission since the coming of the group last named in the previous chapter, who devoted themselves manfully to the Maori work during this distressful time, holding together the elect remnant in the days of apostasy and building up the waste places when the calamity was overpast. Around these chief shepherds and the Native Pastors who had stood faithful the scattered flocks were gathered again, in diminished numbers, but with a faith tried in adversity.

Amongst the signal events of Lawry's superintendency, had been the opening of the Native Institution at Three Kings, near Auckland, for the higher training of Maori youths—a foundation which, after some vicissitudes and a temporary

closure during the war, flourishes to this day, taking a high place in the educational life of the colony. Alexander Reid—a man of Scotch Presbyterian birth and a trained teacher, distinguished by the intensity and thoroughness, the sympathetic care and the practical ability, characteristic of his rearing—was sent out from England in 1848 to organize this college, over which he presided for ten years. Two other establishments were set up on similar lines farther south during the fifties—the Grey Institute, near New Plymouth, and the Kai Iwi Institute, in the Wanganui Valley—which thrived well until the war brought them to an end. Reid understood the Maoris as few men did, and had a great influence with them. If any human power could have prevented the outbreak of the war, he and John Whiteley would have done so. Reid was a powerful preacher, as well as a skilled teacher and administrator; he was much admired in the Auckland pulpit, and respected everywhere by the colonists.

William Kirk—a typical Lincolnshire man, of quiet good sense and perfect temper, a charming preacher and winning evangelist—arrived a year earlier than Reid. He spent fifteen years in the Native work, becoming a master of the Maori tongue and Maori heart, and doing pioneer service of the most arduous kind. His wife, a daughter of John Hobbs, was a missionary help-meet. The contraction of the Native work caused by the war occasioned his transference to the colonial Circuits, in which he saw abundant fruit of his ministry. Kirk lived to an honoured old age, and was amongst the early Presidents of the New Zealand Conference.

Cort Henry Schnackenberg and William Gittos are counted along with Reid and Kirk as saviours of the Maori Mission. The former, a German by birth who had come to New Zealand in the capacity of a traders' agent, was converted under Whiteley's influence. For nine years he laboured as a Catechist amongst the Natives, and in 1853 was put into the ministry. He held without shrinking the most dangerous outposts during the war, and after its close toiled with admirable patience and gentleness among the broken, ill-conditioned Natives. Though a comparatively poor English speaker, his sympathy made him wonderfully at home with the Maoris, and he was faithful to their cause unto death.

Still more notable was the work of William Gittos, who was

brought up at Hokianga and married the second daughter of John Hobbs. He entered the Maori work a little later than Schnackenberg. Gittos 'literally lived for the Maori people, being their trusted adviser in things temporal as well as spiritual'; and his wife was one with him in this respect. These two were reckoned the most perfect masters of the Native language in the islands. Gittos was spared to give a long life to the redemption of the people he loved. He carried the Gospel into the Waikato country after the war. In later years he was made Superintendent of Maori Missions for the Auckland District, and played an influential part in the revival of Maori Christianity and civilization.

Henry H. Lawry (son of Walter Lawry), educated at Kingswood School, joined the Mission on his father's appointment to Auckland, at the sacrifice of flattering prospects in London. A superior Maori scholar and a good Missionary, Henry Lawry stood by the Native cause through its darkest hours, a pillar of strength. Though ill-health enforced an early supernumeraryship upon him, he lived to see days of sunshine return for his beloved Maoris.

James Watkin's son, William J. Watkin—a teacher at Three Kings and at Kai Iwi, received into the ministry in 1857—deserves to be remembered in this connexion. He was an excellent bilingual preacher and a wise and kindly man, and made himself a link between the hostile races.

The development of English Colonial Methodism in New Zealand followed the lines already traced in the chapters relating to North America and Australia. It is sufficient to indicate its general course. Here colonial work was superimposed on the Native Mission; men preoccupied and overtasked in the evangelization of the heathen had the care of a host of immigrants cast upon them. They met the new responsibility nevertheless with promptness and efficiency. Their work was facilitated by the fact that most of the early companies of settlers included Methodists eager to clasp a brotherly hand, who supplied a nucleus for English Societies and Circuits. New Zealand, like Scotland or Greece, is a country of high mountain ranges and deep sea inlets, affording many gates of access for the sea-voyager, while communication by land is obstructed and difficult. Hence its occupation began from a number of centres lying far apart; the settlements

formed a cluster of colonies, and not a continuous whole. No central emporium, like Sydney in New South Wales or Melbourne in Victoria, dominated New Zealand ; nor has the city life here assumed the proportions to which it has grown in Australia.

Wellington (under its earlier name of Port Nicholson) was founded by the New Zealand Company in 1840. The site of Auckland was chosen for the capital a year later, and soon attracted a relatively large English population ; geographical convenience dictated the removal later of the seat of Government to the rival centre. But Auckland has always held the superiority in point of numbers and commercial importance. New Plymouth, under the shadow of Mount Egmont, at the westernmost point of the North Island, and Nelson standing on the south shore of Cook's Strait opposite Wellington, sprang up in the early forties. From both these bases colonists spread over the rich agricultural hinterland ; neither of them has gathered a large population of its own. The former town suffered severely from the Maori war.

The chief cities of the South Island are Christchurch and Dunedin, which were founded in the later forties under other auspices than those of the New Zealand Company. They were experiments in sectarian colonization—the former promoted by an Anglican, the latter by a Presbyterian Association—designed as preserves of their respective Churches. In both cases the attempt at religious isolation broke down ; Methodism found an early home alike in Christchurch, with its province of Canterbury, and in Dunedin, the capital of Otago. In the latter province the Wesleyan Mission had previously taken root amongst the Natives. The six English Circuits formed at the above-named centres appeared on the Stations of 1854—the last year of the Missionary Society's official connexion over the islands. At this date the White Methodist Society membership in New Zealand numbered about 500—enough to supply a definite basis for the Colonial Church ; the Maori membership was then eight times as large. These proportions were thereafter to be reversed. The Missionaries showed great alertness in meeting the new-comers and making provision for their spiritual wants ; no settlement of any size existed long without their finding opportunity to

bring or send to it the Gospel. On board almost every emigrant ship some Local Preacher or Class-leader was to be found, armed with his credentials—often more than one; nowhere in the world have those servants of Christ been more laborious and faithful than they were in the early days of these colonies. New Zealand Methodism owes its foundation to the great lay orders of our Church almost as much as does that of North America or Australia. It fell to James Buller, as things happened, to witness the first landing of immigrants both at Wellington, in the far south, and at Auckland, in the north, and to form the first Societies in each of these capitals. At Auckland the earliest English services were held in a saw-pit, at Wellington in a corner of the Maori chapel. With a view to the English work John Aldred was stationed at the latter place in 1841,¹ while Ironside was Missionary to the Maoris. Aldred built up a solid working Church amongst the incoming people. Buller visited Auckland from his Native Station at Kaipara, and provided for English preaching there as well as he could, until the appointment of Superintendent Lawry in 1844 gave to Methodism in that town the leadership it required. From this time the Auckland Church grew rapidly, counting in its service many of the most energetic and capable laymen in the city and district. Auckland Methodism benefited not a little by the establishment within its bounds of the Three Kings and Wesley College and through the attractions it offered to veteran Missionaries like Hobbs and Wallis, who spent their years of retired but still fruitful ministry amid the delightful scenery and the genial society there to be found.

At the landing of the men of Cornwall and Devon who founded New Plymouth, in March, 1841, Charles Creed, the first resident Missionary to the Taranaki Natives, was on the

¹ During his ministry at Wellington Aldred visited the Chatham Islands, where in the six months of his sojourn he had remarkable success amongst the Natives. He left a little Church behind him on departing, of which a Maori Minister was sent to take charge; the devoted Hone Eketone (John Eggleston) 'travelled' there for several years, and 'Chatham Islands' figured on the Wesleyan Stations. The Chatham Group was occupied at this period by a band of Maori filibusters, who not long before had seized on an English ship near Port Nicholson and compelled the captain to transport them thither. They slaughtered the peaceful Moriori inhabitants or reduced them to slavery. Now, however, many of them and of their bondsmen received the Gospel. Some years later the New Zealand Government annexed the islands and liberated the Morioris from their oppressive masters. The bulk of the Maoris subsequently returned to New Zealand and the Wesleyan Minister was withdrawn. The Aborigines had dwindled to a mere handful, but the seed of the Gospel sown by Aldred continued to live amongst this remnant. There are a few British settlers on these out-of-the-way islets.

shore to welcome them. This company included a particularly strong Methodist contingent, and our Church took a leading place in New Plymouth from the outset. This colony bore the brunt of the Maori war. The New Plymouth Circuit was the scene of the martyrdom of John Whiteley, and many settlers of the surrounding district fell in the long struggle; early in its course the wives and children of the town were removed to Nelson. Not till thirty years after the birth of the settlement did prosperity come to this lovely region, now known as 'the garden of New Zealand.'

Reference has been already made to the origin of the Nelson colony, the worst sufferer from the misdoings of the New Zealand Company. This community produced, partly in consequence of its early trials and struggles, an exceptional number of men who rose to eminence in public affairs. John Aldred was the father of the Church at Nelson. Samuel Ironside, indeed, was Missionary at Cloudy Bay near by when the settlers landed; the dispersal of his Native flock had, however, compelled him to remove, and Nelson for some time was without a Methodist pastor. But before Aldred's visit (from Port Nicholson) a Local Preacher named Hough—a man of extraordinary gifts and energy—commenced to preach in the town, and gathered round him a Methodist circle ready to be formed into a regular Society. Aldred was brought across the Strait in 1843 to labour here; with the help of Hough and other capable laymen he established a vigorous Church at Nelson, with a wide Circuit radiating from it.

The 'Canterbury pilgrims' (as the fathers of Christchurch were called) had been chosen on the recommendation of their parish Clergymen. Some of the people thus certificated were Methodists, and they claimed on landing (in 1849), and after some demur secured liberty for, their own worship.¹ The little isolated Society reported itself to Wellington, and Christchurch, with its harbour Lyttelton, was put on the Circuit-plan of that town, two hundred miles distant across the water. A Local Preacher bearing the Cornish name of Nankivell was the first to occupy the pulpit regularly here. James Watkin, the Maori Missionary of Otago to the south, paid occasional visits to the

¹ The story goes that the little group betrayed themselves, while the vessel was still in the English Channel, by holding a prayer-meeting. The officials were in consternation; and it was debated whether the ship should not put in at Plymouth to land these dangerous dissenters and 'purge out' the Methodist 'leaven.'

Christchurch and Lyttelton Society. Aldred, who had a genius for founding colonial Circuits, and had already done the same work at Wellington and Nelson, in 1854 took charge of Canterbury in turn. He had been appointed to this station a year earlier, but his coming was delayed ; meanwhile William Kirk was detained on his way to the Otago Mission to shepherd the growing flock. Undisturbed by the Maori war, and receiving a constant influx of agricultural settlers of an excellent type, this colony expanded rapidly, and the Methodist Church overtook its growth. The Canterbury District has taken a foremost place in New Zealand Methodism.

When the Dunedin settlers landed at Otago Harbour in 1848 Methodist Missionaries had been labouring for eight years amongst the scattered Maoris of the neighbouring region covering the south-east of the South Island. Charles Creed had by this time succeeded James Watkin in the Otago Circuit.¹ He made an early visit to the Scottish colony and its Free Kirk Minister, who was a leader of the enterprise. Friendly relations were established. Creed and his successors in the Otago Mission frequently preached amongst the Presbyterians. In a few years the door was opened at Dunedin to settlers of other persuasions, and a Society and Circuit were formed, of which Isaac Harding took charge as the regular Minister in 1862. Three years before this, in a fit of discouragement, the Maori Missionary had been withdrawn from Otago ; in the colony, too, our work suffered from this retreat. For the first twelve years the Otago colony, planted in a rougher country than that of Canterbury, grew but slowly. The discovery of gold in 1861 brought a rush of immigrants, with whose coming Dunedin rose to prosperity.² During the sixties, in the years of the Maori war, important discoveries of gold were also made in the west land of the South Island around Hokitika, and along the Thames Valley of the

¹ Waikowaiti, an old whaling-station on the coast north of Otago Harbour, was for long the head quarters of the Native Mission, and the Otago Circuit sometimes appears on the *Minutes* under this designation ; for some years the two are distinguished, then 'Waikowaiti' disappears. The Missionary arrangements of the South Island were subject to constant changes due to the disturbed and migratory state of the tribes. The Maori population of the South was much scantier in numbers and more difficult of access than that of the North Island.

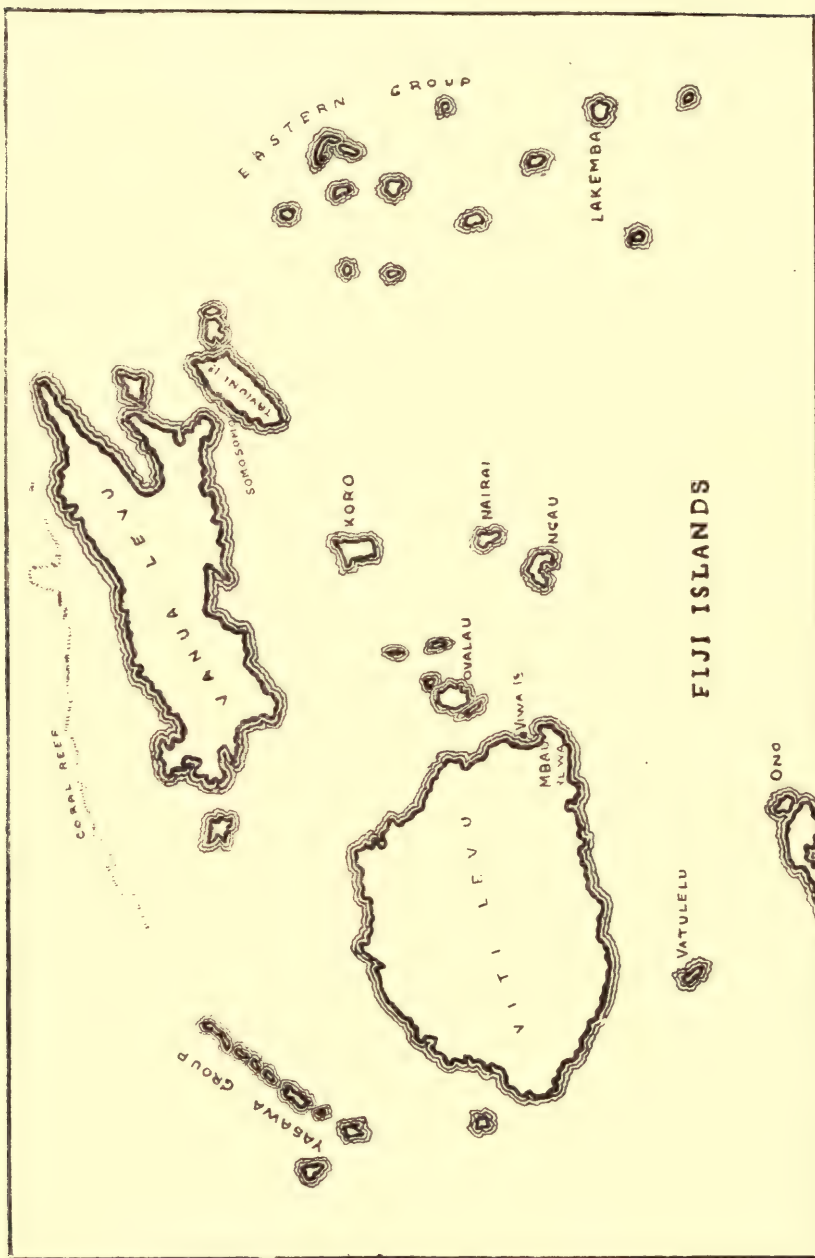
² From this epoch the Otago district lost its denominational colour. Seventy-eight thousand new people arrived between 1861 and 1864. The 'Old Identities' and the 'New Iniquities,' as the two strata of the population were called (Morley's *History*, p. 472), were slow to fraternize. But the province retained a predominant Caledonian flavour, and the Free Church of Scotland is still the leading religious community.

North Island. Although the New Zealand goldfields cannot rival those of Australia or the Transvaal, they have greatly stimulated the influx of immigration and given it fresh channels ; they remain a permanent source of wealth to the islands.

New Zealand Methodism was embraced in the Australasian Conference founded in 1854 ; subsequent developments have been indicated in a previous chapter. At that epoch the Maori Mission had reached its zenith, before the outbreak of the war ; from this time it was destined to decline, while the colonial work increased and the colonial membership multiplied. Within a few years of its foundation the Australasian Conference found itself confronted with a most painful and harassing case in the racial problem of New Zealand. The peculiar and strictly local character of this race question was a consideration which weighed on them in the decision to form a separate Conference for New Zealand, arrived at in the course of the seventies.

Walter Lawry retired from the general superintendency, to reside at Parramatta, in 1854, when James Buller and James Watkin became Chairmen of the Auckland and Wellington Districts respectively. In the following year the elder Watkin removed to New South Wales, and thus closed the fifteen years of his strenuous New Zealand ministry. He left behind him in the islands a son who filled his place excellently well. Buller and Buddle—those wise masters in Israel—thereafter ruled the two island Districts for a goodly term of years.

PART III
ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH SEAS



FIRST ATTEMPTS UPON TONGA

Polynesia—Ethnological Theories—Tonga—Political Organization
 —Character of Inhabitants—Native Religion—The L.M.S. in Tonga—
 Methodist Occupation—Leigh and Lawry—An unfulfilled Hope.

THE islands of the Pacific Ocean were the realm of fable for the eighteenth century. Its waters generated the South Sea Bubble of 1710-20—the wildest speculation in the history of British finance, whose collapse spread ruin through the nation. On the same enchanted shores dwelt in paradisaic innocence 'the noble savage' of Rousseau and the sentimentalists, the imagined child of nature unspoilt by civilized conventions and artifice. By the end of the century these romantic illusions were dispelled; the *Voyages* of Captain James Cook (1766-79) in particular furnished a definite map of Oceania, and informed the British reader of the true condition of the races inhabiting its legendary isles. These far-off peoples attracted the missionary sympathies born of the evangelical movement. The spirit of Christian adventure and knight-errantry, then running so high, found in Polynesia an inviting field. Here were heathen within reach unvisited by the faintest light of the Gospel, at the same time untouched by the evils of civilization and of colonial encroachment. The glamour attaching to the mysterious island-world of the tropics, in whose features beauty and horror were strangely mingled, counted for much in this fascination. The London Missionary Society in 1796 sent to the South Sea Islands its first expedition, with tragic and yet glorious results.

The work of Methodism in Polynesia commenced nearly thirty years later. It grew out of the Mission to the colonists of New South Wales, which was undertaken in 1816. From the first, Australia has been the basis of Methodist operations in the Pacific, of which for the last sixty years that country has borne the sole responsibility. Working from this centre,

the British Methodist Missionaries have addressed themselves to the Maoris of New Zealand, to the Friendly Islanders, with their kinsmen the Samoans, and to the Fijians. In recent times the Australian General Conference has extended its operations much more widely in the South Seas—to Papua (British New Guinea), the New Britain Group, and the Solomon Islands—maintaining besides a Mission full of promise in India, associated with that of the home Church. A Church membership (including probationers) not far short of 50,000 is now reported from the Australian Missions.

The tropical archipelago of the Pacific, known by the name of Oceania, is peopled by two races differing in language, customs, and mental characteristics, as they do in colour and physiognomy. These are the brown Polynesians occupying the islands of the north, east, and south, and ranging in a vast sweep from the Ladrões round to New Zealand; and the black Melanesians of the south-western groups from the Caroline Islands to Fiji. The latter, who are typically represented by the Papuans of New Guinea, belong unmistakably to the Negro stock: their dark skin, woolly hair, and thick lips identify them with the African Black Man, of whose former presence the vestiges are traceable along the whole south of the Asiatic continent; the generic resemblance is modified by specific differences, due doubtless to the infusion of non-Negro blood. The affinities of the Polynesians are more dubious. Since the researches of Quatrefages it has been usual to associate them racially with the Malays of south-eastern Asia; but later ethnologists have thrown doubt on this genealogy. Alfred R. Wallace, has given reasons for believing that they are fundamentally Caucasian and represent a primitive Indo-European population once dominant in the south-east of Asia who were driven out thence by the invading Mongols from the north.¹ He makes out the hairy Ainos of Japan and the Australian Aborigines to be degraded shoots from the same trunk, in the latter case detached at a primæval stage and crossed with a Negro race formerly tenanted Australia, whose

¹ See his *Studies Scientific and Social*, Vol. I., chap. xix.-xxi. Wallace calls the Melanesians *Papuans* and the Polynesians *Mahoris* (Maoris), naming each race from its most conspicuous exemplar. The late Dr. James Egan Moulton, the founder of the Tubou College, and a man deeply versed in Tonguese tradition and philology, arrived at the conclusion that the Polynesian stock to which the Tongan people belong had in it a decided *Semitic* strain, and that its primitive home was probably South Arabia.

last remnants were found in the vanished Tasmanian Natives. If the newer ethnological theory be correct, the Polynesians are remote congeners of our own.

The Friendly Islands, situated in south-central Oceania, are on the border of the Polynesian area, the Fijians to the west of them being Melanesians. They are clustered in three groups strung upon a north and south axis, and spread from 18° to 21° of south latitude and from 173° to 176° of west longitude.¹ They lie about 1,500 miles north by north-east of New Zealand, and at a somewhat greater distance due east of North Queensland, in Australia; their nearest neighbours are the Samoan (Navigator's) Islands, 300 miles away in a direction north by north-east, and Fiji, nearly as far off north-west by west. Nearly two hundred islands are enumerated in the whole cluster, of which not a fourth are inhabited. The total land-surface is less than 400 square miles, the two largest islands, Tonga-tabu and Vavau, being comparable in size to the Isle of Wight and Guernsey. The latest census registers the population as under 20,000, of whom 400 are Europeans. Formerly the Missionaries counted the Natives at double the above numbers.² It may appear disproportionate to assign three chapters of this History to an island group whose total population does not exceed that of a fifth-rate Indian or Chinese town. The exceptional human interest attaching to the Tonga Mission, and the important place it filled in the development of the foreign work of Methodism, are our excuse for this extended treatment. The very limitations of the field, the simplicity of the problem it presented, and the relative completeness with which its conquest was effected and heathenism within its bounds displaced by Christianity in the course of a single generation, make the story exemplary. The causes of success or failure in missionary enterprise, the elements of strength and of weakness in Methodist Missions in particular, are observable here more distinctly than in larger areas, and

¹ If the outlying dependencies politically associated with Tonga be included, the dimensions of the Friendly Islands Group are considerably larger than is stated above.

² Though the older estimates may have been exaggerated, there can be no doubt that the Friendly Islanders, like other Native tribes of the South Seas, have been decimated through the introduction of European vices and diseases, which have proved more destructive than the former chronic wars. It remains to be seen whether the people will succeed in surviving these mischiefs, whether their constitution has sufficient vital force to adapt itself to the perilously altered conditions, by the aid of Christianity.

under conditions more complicated. The way in which the light of the Gospel first strikes in upon the darkness of heathenism, and its effect upon individual characters and social institutions, are conspicuously manifest in the case of the Friendly Islanders, who responded quickly and generally to its impact ; they are exhibited on a scale, in respect both of place and time, which facilitates the survey and comprehension of the achievement. This was, in fact, a typical Methodist Mission ; it supplied to our Church its earliest completed lesson in dealing with heathenism.

Tonga¹ (or Tonga-tabu, *Holy Tonga*) is the largest and most populous of the Friendly Islands ; it forms the main part of the southern cluster, as Vavau of the northern cluster (also called Haafulahao) ; these two groups are named from their principal islands. Haabai is the name of the middle cluster, which is by far the most numerous, but includes no island of outstanding size. Lifuka, situated toward the northern extremity of the group, supplies its capital. While Tonga-tabu and the Haabais generally are low and flat, exhibiting the coralline structure prevailing in Oceania, Vavau is almost mountainous, being of volcanic formation. To the east and north of the main clusters several volcanoes emerge from the ocean ; and the whole of the islands are liable to shocks of earthquake, not severe but often repeated. High winds prevail in these latitudes, rising not unfrequently to storms and occasionally to cyclones of the most terrific character, when Nature's habitual smiles are exchanged for a destructive rage. The shoals and reefs with which the surrounding seas, especially toward the centre of the group, are thickly set, render navigation exceptionally hazardous. Through constant experience of the dangers arising from fickle winds and tortuous channels the Tongans have become the most skilful and daring of mariners ; they are called 'the hardy Norsemen' of the Pacific.

The Friendly Islands, with the adjacent Samoan and Fijian groups, form the Antipodes of the African Sahara ; they exhibit a perfect contrast to that barren region. Here a teeming life and prodigal beauty are generated from the rich soil, under a glowing sun and a moisture-laden atmosphere. The ocean

¹ *Tonga* now serves to designate the Friendly Islands generally, and *Tongan* the language and people as a whole. This usage will be followed in the sequel. *Tonga-tabu* is always the single island.

winds temper the excessive heat and dissipate miasma, yielding balmy airs which at most seasons it is a joy to breathe.¹ Insect-plagues abound, and the seas swarm with sharks; but the islands are free from dangerous field-beasts and snakes. Nowhere within the tropics are conditions to be found more favourable to human life and health; nowhere can life be sustained upon the lavish bounties of Nature with less exertion or hardship.

The genial climate has produced in the islanders a race of magnificent physique, the flower of Polynesia, whose dress and carriage help to set off their handsome figures. The Tongans excel the Maoris in stature and build; ethnologists put them, along with the Samoans, at the head of all races of mankind in point of bodily development. Though the breed, since it was first known, has suffered deterioration through intermixture with Fijians and with low-class Europeans, and has dwindled in number, it has not lost its superiority, which is exhibited in both sexes. A British Admiral wrote after visiting Tonga some years ago:

The manly beauty of the young men is very remarkable; one in particular, who had decked his hair with the flowers of the scarlet hibiscus, might have sat for an Antinous.

Admiral Erskine goes on to say:

They carry their habits of cleanliness and decency to a higher point than the most fastidious of civilized nations,

in this characteristic presenting an extreme contrast to the original Maoris. He adds:

Their public meetings and discussions are carried on with a dignity and forbearance which Europeans never equal, while even in the heat of war they have ever shown themselves amenable to reason and religion.²

Lord George Campbell, in his *Log-Letters from the Challenge* (1876), gives them unstinted admiration:

¹ The climate of Tonga is much the same as that of Samoa, the home of Robert Louis Stevenson's later years, whose praises he has celebrated in exquisite terms.

² *Cruises amongst the Islands of the West Pacific*, by John Elphinstone Erskine (1853). Erskine's voyage took place subsequently to the Christianization of Tonga.

There are no people in the world [he writes] who strike one at first so much as the Friendly Islanders. Their clear, light copper-brown colour, their curly hair and good-humoured, handsome faces, their *tout ensemble*, formed a novel and splendid picture of the *genus homo*, and as far as physique and appearance go, they gave me certainly the impression of being a superior race to ours.

Most visitors have been charmed with these people on first acquaintance, though longer experience proved disenchanting. Captain Cook pronounced them to be 'liberal, brave, open, and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty, or revenge.'¹ By the time the first Christian Missionaries reached the Tongans their disposition, which showed traits surprising in a race of savages, had worsened through the vicious influence of the runaway sailors and escaped convicts who harboured in the islands.

In political organization the Friendly Islanders were thorough-going aristocrats. Society was divided into some half-dozen grades, extending from the king to the slave, which were so fixed as to amount almost to castes. The chiefs constituted an hereditary *noblesse* linked by intermarriage, who wielded almost unlimited power over the commoners (*tuas*), and held a position much more settled and authoritative than that of the New Zealand chiefs. Each of the three groups of islands had, under one title or other, its king or chief-paramount; the king was recognized as the elective head of the body of chiefs. There was no strict rule of succession to the crown, but the king was chosen when the throne became vacant, out of the royal family. The three reigning families of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau were connected by blood-relationship, and formed a single clan, so that the same sovereign—as in the case of King George—might come to rule over two, or even all three, of the little kingdoms. There was in consequence of this a greater unity, with more of friendly intercourse and communal life, amongst the Tongans than in other Oceanic groups. The actual power of the king depended very much upon his personal prowess and force of character. In the larger islands of Tonga-tabu and Vavau there were a number of principal chiefs who administered like feudal lords the areas about their fortified towns, and were surrounded by

¹ In the end Cook's life was plotted against by the Tongans, and he was compelled to modify his eulogy.

sub-chiefs, but were bound by a general allegiance to the king.

It was in keeping with the comparative refinement and gentler manners of the Tongans that their women enjoyed a large measure of freedom and were treated with a consideration rare amongst uncivilized peoples.¹ The Friendly Islanders also showed a respect for old age and a care for their children which raised them above the common barbarian level. The horrible crimes of infanticide and cannibalism—rife in Fiji and New Zealand—if not unknown, were here under the ban. The Tongan chiefs took many wives; sexual intercourse and lascivious dances were prevalent; but Tongan heathenism was comparatively free from the degrading religious customs of other regions. Fairly honest toward each other, and less cunning and treacherous than many savage tribes, the Tongans had small scruple about cheating foreigners or stealing from them; but if their pledge was once given it might generally be trusted. Kindness and fair treatment they knew how to reciprocate. Their hospitalities were liberal and their courtesies graceful. The chiefs, as a class, possessed discernment of character and a naturally sound understanding; they were not slow to appreciate the superior knowledge of Europeans and the higher light of their religion. The messengers of the Gospel, when they had mastered the language and could speak to the heart of the Tongans, found in them 'a people prepared for the Lord,' who stood on a higher level of intelligence and morals than many other heathen folk, and whose conscience was unusually susceptible to the Christian appeal. The Tongans share in the vivacity and impressionableness and good-humour distinguishing the Polynesians generally, in which they differ so much from the stolid Malays. Their gifts of expression, and their instinct for good manners, resemble those of the Maoris. Alike as sailors and as builders they notably excelled; in other manual arts, and in agriculture, they are inferior to many of the Pacific Islanders, particularly to the Fijians. These latter, like most of the Melanesians, had a knowledge of pottery, an art unknown to the Polynesians. Both races were ignorant of the use of metals until the coming of Europeans.

¹ In the division of labour the cooking of food, as well as its provision, devolved on the men, while everything connected with dress was the care of the women. Women priestesses were common, beside the men priests.

The grave fault of *indolence* went far to neutralize the advantages accruing to this people from their superior powers of body and mind. They were the spoilt children of Nature,¹ whose fruits with little toil dropped into their laps. Handsome, clever, affable, and easy-going, they were the fine gentlemen of the Pacific. 'The dignity of labour' was not an idea that appealed to them. Athletic, and capable of great exertion on occasion, their physical stamina was somehow defective, and they readily fell a prey to sickness. They had not the hardihood and resolution, nor the capacity for sustained industry, of the native New Zealanders, bred in a ruder climate. In mental effort the Tongans suffer from a corresponding lack of grit and thoroughness.² A similar frailty runs through their moral constitution. Like St. Paul's Galatians, they were apt to 'run well' and then to be 'hindered' by obstacles of any difficulty. Walter Lawry, in visiting the islands from New Zealand, observes how badly the Vavauans, after nearly twenty years of Christian teaching, compared with the Maoris in obligingness and readiness to serve; no one would stir a hand to help him ashore without the offer of liberal pay!³ They are slow to take up any manual task, even for good wages, and have a rooted dislike to the status of hired labourers, born of the pride which ease engenders. Daring, active, resourceful at sea, on land they will often be found listless and lounging. Hence the backwardness of the islands in economic development and the danger of extinction threatening this favoured race, which entered so eagerly and with such fine promise into the blessings of Christianity.

The native religion was in its basis an Animism resembling in type the Maori heathenism, and that of the Polynesians generally. But the Tongan creed was in some points more advanced, and showed deeper reflection than that of the Maoris. They worshipped a host of ancestral spirits peopling *Bulotu* (the Tongan Hades, located beyond the sunset in the western ocean), who revisit the earth, lodging themselves in various

¹ The writer on Tonga in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, 'Their ambition is to rank as a civilized state, and the flattery lavished on them by their teachers has spoiled them!' Every rising nation in its political infancy exposes itself to censures of this kind.

² 'They pick up superficial acquirements with astonishing ease, but seem to be incapable of mastering any subject'; so says their censurer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a condemnation far too sweeping.

³ Lawry was a stranger to the Vavau people; in the case of their own Missionaries it would have been different.

animal forms or in conspicuous trees. Each clan circle identified some given creature with the spirit, or spirits, of its forefathers, and held it for a token. The ghosts thus conjured up and materialized haunted the people's lives; they were predominantly malicious in character, and had to be appeased by prayers and offerings. The priests and priestesses were believed to be inspired by them; under the afflatus they indicated the shrines the demon-spirits inhabited, and prescribed the ritual and sacrifices they required. The burial-places of the chiefs were objects of peculiar reverence and careful preservation; they were visited with prayers and offerings on the undertaking of a voyage or a war, or when any public or domestic calamity was apprehended. A universal form of sacrifice was the severing of sections of the fingers, which in cases of repeated trouble were devoted to the point of mutilation. Infants were regularly deprived of their little finger-joints in this way. The practice was probably a relic of human sacrifice. There were also temples built for the gods—not large or stately, but numerous and well kept by the priests. Here idols were cherished of a rude fetish style. The temples were dedicated mainly to the greater gods, impersonations of the powers of nature—the three Tangaloas inhabiting the sky, the three subterranean Mauis, a sea-god with various names, and Hikuleo, who presided over Bulotu. These were approachable only through the intercession of the spirits. In honour of Hikuleo a great annual festival was held, lasting over a fortnight, accompanied by athletic sports resembling the games of Ancient Greece. Hikuleo was represented by a high-priest, the Tuitonga, who was the head of the national religion and the most sacred person in the islands. Above the great gods two supreme, uncreated deities were recognized—so John Thomas asserted, who was the best authority upon the subject. These beings, dwelling in the infinite azure, were objects of profound mystery; too remote for worship, they were spoken of but rarely and with the utmost reticence, their names being known only to a few persons of the highest rank.¹ This last feature of the Tongan belief is of extreme interest; it appears to point back to some more spiritual faith brought by the progenitors of the Polynesians from their Asiatic home.

¹ See Farmer's *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp. 124–31. To this well-planned carefully prepared, and pleasantly written work the writer is much indebted.

The favourable reports of Cook and other mariners led the London Missionary Society to direct its earliest enterprise to the Friendly Islands, along with Tahiti. Ten Missionaries were landed from the sailing-ship *Duff*, in 1797, upon the shores of Tonga-tabu. None of these were ordained Ministers. The plan of the Mission was in the first instance, as with the Anglican subsequently in New Zealand, to pave the way for the Gospel by the introduction of secular arts and the material benefits of Christianity. This method—too much the dictate of worldly wisdom—failed here as it did elsewhere,¹ and in three years' time the first Mission to Tonga came to an end. The circumstances attending its inception were such as might have made the best-devised and best-conducted plans abortive. With the exception of one of their number, who renounced his faith and went over to the heathen, the London Missionaries were well-meaning and devoted men; but most of them were artisans little fitted by education or experience for their task. Arriving ignorant of the language and ideas of the people, they were at the mercy of the two or three White residents they found upon the island, who served as interpreters. These were unprincipled men, heathen in life and hostile to the purposes of the Mission; by one of them at least the Missionaries were grossly betrayed.

Received at first with hospitality, and with promises of support and attention to their teaching, the nine Missionaries separated into several parties, forming settlements at different points of the not very extensive island. But they had scarcely succeeded in setting up their houses and bringing under cultivation the plots of land assigned to them when a war broke out in which three of the company, living together, were butchered by the victorious party. The rest saw their property destroyed, and were in imminent danger of their lives, when they were taken off by an English trading-vessel touching on the coast, which conveyed them to Sydney. Before the fatal war commenced the Missionaries—as in the later case of Whangaroa and Wesleydale—suffered a sad disillusion in

¹ 'So long as the nation remained idolaters they manifested no anxiety to improve the outward conditions of their life. The instruction of our artisan Missionaries was absolutely thrown away on them. They cared nothing for better dwellings, well-cultivated gardens, or the hundred useful arts which the Missionaries employed. But as soon as they became Christians, with the new disposition to serve the living God, they awoke to all the higher interests of life. The change in the outward appearance of the islands was miraculous.'—*The Story of the L.M.S.*, by C. Silvester Horne.

finding that it was not themselves or their teaching that the Natives valued, but their *property*. The chiefs were ready to seize their goods on any pretext, and the people robbed them at every turn. The Missionary was welcomed as a medium for procuring European implements, and a sort of decoy for attracting foreign ships and profitable barter. The Mission was destroyed before it had struck root ; it had not, upon the defective plan which it followed, laboured long enough to bring Christ to the people it sought to save, nor to commend itself on any surer ground than the utilitarian.

Several of the ex-Missionaries of the London Society, withdrawn from other islands as well as from Tonga, settled in New South Wales. A little colony of them resided at Parramatta. Amongst these was a Mr. Shelley, driven from Hihifo in Tonga, who took refuge in the colony and prospered there, but continued to cherish a warm interest in the Friendly Islanders.¹ This interest was retained after his death by his family, who attached themselves to the Wesleyan Church at Parramatta. It was through Mrs. Shelley, the widow,² that Walter Lawry, as a young colonial Missionary, heard of the Tongans, and was stirred with the desire to seek their salvation. He wrote on the subject to the Missionary Committee at home ; and his senior colleague, Samuel Leigh, then visiting England, supported his representations, and made the Friendly Islands, along with New Zealand, the subject of his powerful and successful appeals to British Methodists on behalf of the heathen of the South Seas. So it came to pass that these two enterprises were simultaneously launched, and the Wesleyan Mission was the heir of the London Mission in Tonga.

Finding its energies absorbed by the spread of its Missions in other groups of the Pacific archipelago, the London Society, after the retirement of its agents in 1800, made no further attempt to evangelize the Friendly Islands ; for more than twenty years they were left alone. But a considerable trade had sprung up between Tonga and Sydney ; messages went to and fro, and there was reason to believe that a renewal of the Mission would be welcomed. The country was reported to be more settled, and the chiefs better disposed than their

¹ The Shelleys laboured for a while in Tahiti after leaving Tonga.

² A daughter of this house married Ralph Mansfield ; another became the second Mrs. Daniel J. Draper.

predecessors of the former time. By this date also the work of the London Missionary Society in Tahiti and the Society Islands, after sixteen years of discouragement, had blossomed out into wonderful prosperity ; hopes of the conversion of the Polynesians were everywhere revived. The Missionary Committee in London yielded to the pleadings of Leigh and Lawry, and consented to the occupation of both the fields they desired to enter. In the *Minutes* of 1820 Samuel Leigh is appointed to ' New Zealand,' and Walter Lawry to ' the Friendly Islands.' ' One more is to be sent ' to each station, and a *Nota Bene* is appended saying that ' Two others are to be sent to the South Seas, whose particular appointment is yet to be determined.' Whether this third pair of intended Missionaries should reinforce Leigh and Lawry or should be planted in some third centre yet to be chosen was at the time an open question. It would have been more prudent, with the limited means at the Committee's disposal, to have established one of these difficult undertakings first before endeavouring the other, especially as the work in New South Wales was still undeveloped ; but the calls were loud, the people at home were eager for advance, and ' the set time to favour ' the South Sea Islanders appeared to be come.

Samuel Leigh set out for New Zealand, without waiting for his promised colleague, early in 1822, staying a few months in Sydney after his return from England to make preparations. Lawry, who had remained up to this time in the colony, sailed a few months later in the same year, calling at New Zealand on the way to Tonga. He actually broke ground in the new field earlier than his fellow pioneer, who was detained at the Bay of Islands with the Church Missionaries, unable to secure a site for his own Mission.

Although Lawry's appointment had been determined by the Conference, no definite instructions had been given, or grant made from London, for the starting of the Friendly Islands Mission ; nor does Leigh, who was Lawry's official Superintendent, appear to have ordered its commencement. The superintendency of the latter, apart from the control of the work in New Zealand, was hardly more than nominal. Lawry took the matter pretty much into his own hands ; his New South Wales friends helped to provide the initial expenses. A lively interest was shown in the venture by the Sydney

people. Governor Brisbane provided a stock of cattle and sheep at the public expense. The owners of the *St. Michael*, the ship in which Mr. and Mrs. Lawry sailed, arranged that the vessel, after two or three months spent in trading among the islands, should call on the Missionary on setting out homewards, giving him time to settle down and to send news to Sydney, or to return if his project proved impracticable. Beside his wife and infant child, Lawry was accompanied by two young artisan volunteers from the colony—George Lilley, a carpenter, and Charles Tindall, a blacksmith, and by an older English servant, Thomas Wright, who had some knowledge of agriculture. He took along with him also a Native boy from the Marquesas Islands named Macano, a pupil of the London Mission, whose speech it was hoped would facilitate communication with the Natives.¹

Lawry and his companions landed in Tonga-tabu on August 16, 1822—the first Christian Minister to set foot upon the soil of the Friendly Islands. Two months later the *St. Michael* reappeared in the harbour, and he was able to send by her to Sydney and to London cheerful news, reporting his favourable reception, the peaceable state of the country, and the expectations he was in of planting a settled Mission and of winning the ear of the people so soon as he was able to ‘speak in their own tongue the grand things of God.’ He begged for additional helpers, including a surgeon and a printer (for he hoped shortly to reduce the language to writing), also for schoolmasters and books, and for a supply of articles suitable for use in barter, since only by this means could the daily necessities of the Mission be procured.

The prospects which opened before the Missionary in the first two months were flattering. The Tongans knew how to ‘make a fair show in the flesh,’ and the impressions given by their good-natured ways and pleasant manners were, unintentionally, deceptive. The first person to meet Lawry on ship-board was an Englishman named William Singleton, a survivor from the destruction of a French vessel which had happened sixteen years ago. Singleton had become naturalized in Tongan

¹ The Marquesas dialect, belonging to a group of islands far to north-east, proved too remote from that of Tonga to serve the purpose; ‘the boy’s hands were more useful than his tongue.’ In fact, Macano was most serviceable as *cook* to the Mission house. This youth, to whom Lawry gives an excellent character, died of consumption soon after returning with his master to New South Wales.

life and ways, but, though a renegade from civilization, he was not an abandoned and treacherous man like the scoundrels the previous Missionaries had fallen in with ; and he attached himself to Mr. Lawry with an honest goodwill. In the course of time this prodigal put away his heathenish vices and returned to the God of his fathers. The Missionary's next visitor was a principal chief, Palau, with whom, by Singleton's aid, he was able freely to converse. This potentate, who was a most imposing personage—the hugest man, said Lawry, he had ever seen—was exceedingly gracious ; he made prompt arrangements for the landing and housing of the company, and showed the friendliest interest in their future plans. A meeting was summoned, which was attended by seven of the neighbouring chiefs with a great concourse of the people as spectators, to hear the visitors' proposals and to decide on the policy to be adopted toward them, Singleton acting efficiently as interpreter. The result was satisfactory beyond expectation ; protection was promised to the party, and facilities for their work ; the chiefs would send ' thousands ' of their children to the schools it was proposed to open ; they wished to hear of the great God the strangers had to declare. The understanding arrived at was ratified by an exchange of presents, some of the chiefs showing to their guests the distinguished Tongan honour of stripping off their best robes to give to them. As the company dispersed one of the older chiefs said to Lawry, with tears in his eyes, in reference to the presents he had brought and the things he told of : ' We had almost died before we had seen anything ! ' Palau desired the Missionary, for the sake of friendship and mutual advantage, to settle down at his own town of Mua, which was near the centre of the island ; and Lawry chose this place for his head quarters. From his first encounter and negotiations he gathered a high opinion of Palau's abilities and disposition : ' A more shrewd, discerning, generous, and prudent man,' he wrote, ' no one could expect without the lines of civilization.' This judgement was modified by subsequent experience, and certain less agreeable traits appeared in the ponderous chieftain's character on deeper acquaintance ; but in the main Palau stood the Missionary's friend so long as he remained on the island. More than once he was manifestly affected by what his guest succeeded in communicating respecting Christianity. Lawry's personality doubtless counted for

much in the opening interviews ; he had a cool courage and self-possession, and an air of mingled authority and benignity, which made their impression despite the barriers of language.

Unhappily this able and impressive man failed to stay long enough amongst the heathen folk to make proof of his ministry. ' Oh, what a curse,' he cries, ' is the confusion of tongues ! ' After awaking eager attention, he was compelled to break off saying : ' When I can speak more of your language I will tell you greater things than these ' ; but for Lawry himself the much-desired time never came. In the course of the next year a Mission house, with adjoining premises, including a blacksmith's shop, was erected at Mua¹ ; a large garden was fenced in and planted with vegetables and fruit-trees ; and the cattle and poultry brought from New South Wales were domiciled. No chapel or schoolhouse was as yet built, nor was it possible to gather a public congregation. Lawry had to content himself with private visits and conversations, and often had to call in the aid of Singleton as *dragoman*—a mouthpiece far from suitable for the conveying of spiritual truth. For the rest, he had to speak in a broken, tentative fashion, against which his impetuous nature chafed. Amongst other excursions he paid a visit to the Ata, the ruling chief of Hihifo, at the western end of the island, son of the ruler at whose hands Mr. Shelley and his comrades of the London Mission had suffered so many things a quarter of a century before. Like Palau of Mua, this chief was profuse in hospitality and fair promises ; he begged Mr. Lawry to ' make marks to Beritani [write to Britain] for more Missionaries, to come and live with him at Hihifo.' We shall see later how much this friendliness was worth.

The good understanding effected between the Mission and the local chiefs at their first meeting was too good to last. Beneath the bland, engaging manners of these debonair savages fierce passions slumbered, like storms within their soft winds and sunny skies. ' They love our *property*, not us nor our teaching,' the Missionary found cause to exclaim. Within three months after the treaty information came through Singleton that dark whisperings against the *Papalangi*

¹ It was not till March 27, 1823, that Mr. and Mrs. Lawry were able to enter their own dwelling. The fickle and lazy habits of the Natives whose assistance they had engaged caused mortifying delays. The Lawrys named their new house *Coke-vernal*, in honour of the father of Methodist Missions, who had died ten years earlier.

(foreigners) were going round at the kava-ring.¹ Suspicions were muttered that they were spies, prospecting for the conquest of the island. The coincidence of the former Mission (1797-1800) with the occurrence of the civil war was recalled :

See [said one] these people are always praying to their gods as the former *Papalangi* did, and what followed ? Why, the war broke out, and all the old chiefs were killed !

Another would tell how in a dream the spirit of a former chief had cried to him as in wrath : ' The *Papalangi* will pray you all dead ! ' Murmurings grew to threatenings. The Natives began to pilfer with increasing impudence from the Mission premises, and disturbed the occupants with angry cries and insulting gestures. They met remonstrances with signs to each other, meaning, as Singleton translated them : ' Make ready ! Let us put an end to these *Papalangi* ! ' The heathen priests were, no doubt, at the bottom of these manifestations. Palau was absent on a punitive expedition against Eua² when the demonstrations began. On his return he punished the more notorious offenders, but the popular feeling remained adverse ; a mistrust had been aroused not easy to allay, and the Missionary was as yet tongue-tied. When he attempted to explain matters, and to impress on the people the beneficence of the message he had to convey, his broken words failed to disarm their prejudice, and were often misunderstood. ' Your religion is very good for you, and ours is very good for us,' was the most civil answer he could elicit. Some chiefs who had professed great friendship proved fickle ; they had not forgotten the defeat of the earlier Missionaries, whose graves were pointed out with ostentation. Twice over plots were formed for the destruction of the Mission household, who, but for Singleton's watchfulness, might have perished.

¹ A narcotic juice was extracted from the root of the kava-plant, which the Natives were accustomed to prepare in large quantities, consuming the liquor with due ceremony as they sat in a ring out of doors. This symposium constituted the popular social rendezvous.

² The notion that troubles were *prayed down* upon the Tongans by the foreigners Lawry ascribes to the suggestion of an ex-convict enemy of the former Missionaries, whose evil doings they had denounced. The malignant ideas insinuated by this man had persisted in the minds of the heathen.

³ Eua, a small island of some elevation, lies nine miles to the east of Tonga-tabu. Its soil is exceptionally fertile, and Eua was called ' the garden of Tonga,' so that its possession was greatly coveted ; but the people were turbulent. This spot was a resort of European whalers, whose influence aggravated the prevalent disorder. Christianity was slow in getting a footing here.

Reluctantly Lawry was brought to a judgement on the Tonguese character very different from that he had formed in the beginning.

The navigators who first visited these islands, and the castaway mariners who have resided among them for several years [he says] have attempted to wash these Ethiopians white. The fact is, however, they follow their natural inclinations, and are earthly, sensual, devilish. It is not considered a disgrace to lie or steal unless detection follows ; and then it is very rarely punished. Treachery is the peculiar characteristic of the islanders ; and as to chastity, it is little regarded. Their whole lives are a scene of corruption.

So the sanguine Missionary writes words of bitterness instead of admiration ; he could see nothing but the dark side of the people's life where formerly so much that was bright and hopeful had been apparent. Lawry confesses to the despondency which came over him, aggravated by his loneliness, and the reaction from his first roseate anticipations. Writing in his journal under date December 20, 1822, he says :

For several weeks I have been strongly tempted to look behind me upon the civilized society of Great Britain and New South Wales. Blessed be God, the snare is now broken, and I feel a great deadness to the world, and a melting of heart before the Lord. I clearly perceive that I must press after holiness, or I cannot be satisfied with my solitary situation, or labour with all my might for the salvation of the heathen.

This passage affords a welcome glance into the Missionary's heart ; it reveals in the Methodist principle of entire sanctification the spring of enduring devotion to the redemption of the world for God.

Although none of the Natives in contact with the Mission gave signs of renouncing idolatry, or appeared to regard the foreign religion with much more than a curious wonder, Lawry felt a strong assurance that by patient continuance, and with adequate resources in the way of staff and supplies, the Mission would succeed. Great encouragement was afforded shortly before his departure through the return of a youthful chief who had visited New Zealand and New South Wales on a British ship, and brought back a glowing account of the things he had seen and heard. This youth had been in good hands. He had witnessed the activities of the Bay of Islands Mission and the prosperity spread around it ; he was shown the Sunday

schools and congregations of Sydney, and the Sabbath observances of Christian people ; Governor Brisbane, of New South Wales, had treated him with dignified kindness and gave him excellent advice. The traveller told his tale to an assembly of his fellow countrymen with graphic eloquence ; it confirmed much, hitherto viewed with incredulity, that the Mua Mission people had related.

The statement produced [said Lawry] an electrifying effect upon the chiefs, who sat amazed and overwhelmed to hear such reports from their own relative, whose veracity they never questioned.

This event set up a new current in favour of the Gospel, of which the Missionary would gladly have taken advantage, but he was suddenly compelled to withdraw by his wife's condition. On October 3, 1823, Mr. and Mrs. Lawry, after a sojourn of fourteen months in Tonga, set sail for Sydney in a British vessel that was passing.

Though the messenger of Christ did not leave behind him a single convert from heathenism, his 'entering in had not been in vain in the Lord,' nor had this brave couple endured so many troubles and alarms to no purpose. Their departure presented a scene very different from that witnessed in the case of their predecessors twenty-three years earlier.

Vast crowds [relates Miss Farmer] collected to see Mr. Lawry off. The Natives conveyed his baggage by canoe to the ship, a distance of seven or eight miles,

a genuine token of regard from the indolent Tonguese. Just as he was ready to step into the boat one of the chiefs interrupted him with the following speech :

We thank you for coming among us. Before you came it was dark night in Tonga ; now it begins to be light. Your friends in the foreign lands have sent for you. Well, go, and tell them that Tonga is a foolish land, and let them send us many teachers. Our hearts are sore because you are going from us.

Like the Maoris, the Tongans were born orators, and knew how to say the proper thing, if they did not quite act up to it. This favourable address expressed the better feelings of the Native mind ; it was an augury of future conversion. 'Palau,' says

Lawry, 'was hardly able to open his mouth for weeping'! This sensible and well-meaning chief died a few years afterwards; there was surely some good thing in his heart toward the God of Israel.

The hope expressed in the Tongan adieu was unfulfilled. The Lawry family, who contemplated only a brief retirement to New South Wales, were under the necessity of extending their voyage to England. Counting on the resumption of Lawry's work, the Missionary Committee took no immediate steps to fill the vacancy. But circumstances forbade his return, and for the next twenty years he served in the home itinerancy. In the end he reappeared in the South Seas as Superintendent for New Zealand and 'Visitor of the Missions in the Friendly Islands and in Fiji.' In the latter capacity, twenty-four years after his departure, Lawry revisited the scenes of his early adventure, and was able to review the astonishing work of God wrought in these lovely islands during the interval. Some fruit he found, after many days, of the seed sown in so much disappointment. A few survived who remembered his labours and patience in the months spent at Mua, and traced their first impressions in favour of Christ to what they had witnessed at that time. His name and memory were a goodly heritage for his successors, and their path was smoothed by the toil of their forerunner.

But for the present Lawry's pioneer work appeared to have been thrown away. He left no lieutenant able to take the reins from his hand, no younger colleague acquainted with the language and the people and competent to hold the ground he had won.¹ His artisan assistants could not fill their leader's place, and were not qualified to act by themselves. Palau in a short time quarrelled with them and ordered them away. One of them remained in the island, to assist John Thomas on his arrival in 1826; but he had little influence, and no

¹ This case illustrates the unwisdom of sending a solitary Missionary to occupy a new field. The Mission House had a good defence in the fact that Lawry had commenced his work in Tonga prematurely and without specific authorization. On the other hand, he had been gazetted in the Stations as appointed to the Friendly Islands, with the promise of 'One to be sent,' and naturally thought it his duty to proceed thither as soon as he could find the means. The extreme distance of these fields from the head quarters in London, and the uncertainty and long delays of communication, gave rise to many misunderstandings and some serious miscarriages. Men on the field often complained that they could get no reply from Hatton Garden, and were therefore compelled to act upon their own judgement. The understaffed condition of the Mission House and the congestion of correspondence this involved were a main cause of the trouble.

longer counted as a Missionary. The Mission premises built by Lawry, though for some time the chiefs looked after them with a view to their reoccupation, were finally lost. The strong position won at Mua was thus forfeited ; a bold forward movement had been made with an inadequate force, which for want of support was turned backwards. The retirement, however, was no defeat ; it was made in good order, with flying colours. An impression had been made on the enemy which was far from being effaced. The work of a few years later at Nukualofa, if not that at Hihifo, was to a considerable extent a resumption of the Mua Mission.

II

THE PENTECOST OF TONGA

A fresh Start—Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and John Hutchinson—A proposed Abandonment—Nathaniel Turner—A bold Step—A Tonic for Despondency—King Tubou's Decision—A happy Change—Peter Vi—Lifuka—A Misunderstanding—*Annus Mirabilis*—Reinforcements—Taufa-ahau—King George of Tonga—Baptism of Finau—An established Mission—Two Recruits—Pentecost.

THE work in Tonga had to be commenced over again. New South Wales could spare no Missionary to take Walter Lawry's place, nor was any successor forthcoming at the time from England. The other attempts in the South Sea Mission were proving costly, and, for the moment, disappointing. Leigh was withdrawn from New Zealand about the same time as Lawry from Tonga; the two enterprises simultaneously lost their leaders. Leigh's post, however, had been reinforced before his departure, so that no such break in occupation occurred there as that from which the Friendly Islands suffered. The Missionary Society had no thought of giving up this field; in 1824 Lawry's return was still hoped for, and a second name appears beside his on the Stations for that year, attached to Tonga-tabu. These appointments failed to take effect. Lawry remained in England, whither he had now arrived, and the colleague assigned to him was sent elsewhere.

At last, in the autumn of 1825, John Thomas set out from England for the derelict Mission. Associated with Thomas's name is that of John Hutchinson, a candidate for Mission service from Van Diemen's Land, where he had been doing good service for some time as a lay Preacher. He joined Mr. and Mrs. Thomas at Sydney. Both Missionaries were wholly strange to the Tongan people and language. John Thomas was the real father of the Church of God in Tonga.¹ His was one of those cases in which, as he would have been the first

¹ A delightful sketch of this good man was written by the late George Stringer Rowe, entitled *A Pioneer: a Memoir of the Rev. John Thomas, Missionary to the Friendly Islands* (C. H. Kelly).

to admit, 'God chooses' for high purposes 'the weak things of the world, and the things despised.' Thomas was a blacksmith of Hagley, under the Clent Hills, in Worcestershire. His upbringing was rustic, his education of the slenderest ; he was taken straight from the village forge to be a Missionary at the ends of the earth. He had no brilliant natural gifts, nor charm of person or address, to make up for his lack of training. Diffident and shy into the bargain, and painfully conscious of his defects, Thomas had none of the push and self-assurance which enable men sometimes to make astonishingly successful use of slender acquirements. He was wanting even in the physical strength one expects in sons of the hammer ; throughout life he suffered from a constitutional nervous depression, and was liable to attacks of prostrating sickness. The one thing that inspired this simple Methodist villager, through which, in spite of every drawback and difficulty, he triumphed, was his firm conviction that God had called him to carry the Gospel of His grace to the heathen. He bore the marks, notwithstanding his want of accomplishments and his self-depreciation, of a sound and solid mind, a deeply serious and affectionate disposition, and a downright, unaffected manliness of nature. He had shown amidst the hindrances attending his attempts to serve God at home a single-minded resolution not likely to be daunted by any opposition, nor diverted to any alien pursuit. John Thomas was a saint and a hero in the making ; for twenty-three years, without pause, he laboured in the Friendly Islands, and left them at last, worn out with toil, after seeing the whole body of the people turned to the Lord, and a Christian nation formed out of barbarian tribes enslaved to the grossest superstitions.

He was twenty-seven years old when, toward the close of the year 1824, a summons from the Mission House found John Thomas (as he writes) finishing 'the near side of a pair of saddle-horse shoes.' The shoes were left for other hands to complete. He passed the ordeals of examination in London, and was cordially recommended by the Dudley Circuit Quarterly Meeting. Just then the Missionary Committee was at a loss to fill the vacancy in the Friendly Islands, whither it was now certain Lawry could not return ; the Hagley blacksmith appeared to be the nominee of providence. He shrank from the call under a crushing sense of unpreparedness ; the

authorities could not but recognize his disabilities. They felt assured, however, that this was the man whom 'the Lord' was 'thrusting forth into His harvest,' and the event justified the unlikely appointment. A wife was required; the young man's heart was set upon a lady in his home Circuit, placed somewhat above him in social rank and education, whom he knew to be interested in the missionary cause. Thomas had not dared to make his suit before; now, on returning home, he invited Sarah Hartshorne to share his vocation. It turned out that she had been longing secretly to serve Christ in this very way; she consented to throw in her lot with the bashful missionary probationer. For forty years with an equal heart they bore the toils and perils, and partook in the joys, of one of the most successful missionary careers of the last century.

Thomas was ordained on March 22, 1825, receiving his charge from Richard Watson, and sailed from Gravesend on April 28. The start had been repeatedly postponed, with the advantage, for this raw countryman, of giving him some familiarity with city life, and opportunities of acquaintance with leading men of his Church and directors of the Missions. During the delay he wrote in his diary:

I am now going to encounter new and untried difficulties, first at sea—a long sea-voyage, with strange and possibly worldly and wicked people; and this is only preparatory to my taking up my abode amongst rude and barbarous tribes, far beyond the bounds of British protection, where I have to live and labour and suffer, and possibly to die. I was never so conscious of my own unfitness for this great undertaking, or of my own nothingness. The question is, then, Why do I attempt to go? What is my object? If I know anything of my own heart, it is that I may teach the heathen of the Friendly Islands the way to heaven. I love their souls. They are in error; darkness has covered their minds. I do not go alone. The promise is: 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world'; 'Say not, I am a child; for thou shalt go to all that I send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, saith the Lord'; 'My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.' A blessed sense of His presence I now have while waiting, and have had for some time; and I can say, 'Through Christ strengthening me I can do all things,' and 'Lord, I am ready to go with Thee to prison and to death.'

Diaries are too often an idealized reflection of the writer's experience; in this case the record mirrors the simple and beautiful fact.

It was fourteen months before the voyage terminated and the Thomases landed in the Maria Bay, on the west side of Tonga-tabu. Beside their colleague John Hutchinson, who also brought a wife with him, they had two companions—Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant at Mua, who, with a missionary spirit, consented to return to Tonga, and a Tongan lad whom the Lawrys had brought to England. Much pains had been taken with this boy, for it was hoped his tongue would be of service to the Mission. But he was a light-minded youth, who gave his conductors trouble on the way out and proved in the end unreliable. Vexatious delays occurred at Sydney, due to the absence of regular communication and the dislike of many shipmasters to missionary passengers.¹ It was seven months before a passage could be secured for the party, so that it was the end of June, 1826, when they reached their destination—a date three months short of three years since their predecessors had quitted the island. Charles Tindall, the blacksmith, the sole remaining member of Lawry's Mission, came off to meet the new-comers. Previous communications had evidently passed between Tindall and Sydney; it was his presence at Hihifo, and the favour in which he was held there, which led the Missionaries to this part of the island. After Lawry's departure Tindall and his companions had been driven from Mua by the chief Palau; that town was closed against the Mission. Tindall was now living under the protection of Ata, the chief of Hihifo, the western port of Tonga-tabu. Landing was delayed through stormy weather. At last, on July 5, the Missionaries set foot on the wished-for shore. The Hihifo chief gave them a friendly reception, promising safety for their persons and liberty for their work, and assigned to them a plot of suitable ground close to the town. A wooden frame-house, which had been brought from Sydney in sections, was soon put together, and the missionary couples were tolerably domiciled. In a few months they and their helpers got the land assigned to them into some sort of cultivation; their neighbours furnished provisions on reasonable terms, showing much friendliness, and the establishment was settled in a

¹ On Thomas's arrival in New South Wales the brethren appear to have had misgivings awakened by his rawness and manifest diffidence. They urged that William Horton should be sent as head of the Tongan Mission, and Thomas or Hutchinson retained in the colony; the proposal was not accepted at the Mission House, where Horton was by no means in high favour.

regular course of living. So far all had gone well. The daily prayers of the household, which were opened to the Natives, supplied, as at Wesleydale, the first means of religiously impressing the heathen. Until a working knowledge of the language was acquired any sort of preaching was out of the question. To the acquisition of the language Thomas applied himself most assiduously ; though a poorly educated man, he had a sense of grammar and method, and grappled with his task in a businesslike way. Both the lay helpers, Tindall and Wright, knew something of Tonguese by the ear ; they negotiated for the Missionaries in business transactions. Thomas reduced what he learnt from them to order, and made it the starting-point for gathering new material.

When, in the course of some months, Thomas and Hutchinson had acquired a vocabulary, and had begun to convey religious ideas to the Natives, appealing especially to Ata and his family and retainers, they found an insuperable obstacle barring their way. The chief plainly told them that he had no thought of changing his religion, and should prevent his people doing so. He was civil and obliging in most other matters, but immovable on the point that was all in all to the Missionaries. Ata was high-priest as well as political chief of his people, and felt his honour bound up with the traditional idolatry. His wife Baba was impervious to Christian impressions ; she appeared at times to play the *Jezebel* to her husband's *Ahab*. The priestess and sorceress of the district was a sister of Ata's, who exercised a powerful secret influence against Christianity. A circle of the Natives, including some minor chiefs, who were drawn to the Mission house and begun to listen to its prayers and conversation, were made to suffer Ata's displeasure ; it was given out that death awaited any one who accepted the *lotu*. So attendance was checked ; the Missionaries found themselves avoided, and their movements watched. The fact was, their presence had been desired purely for purposes of barter and material advantage ; the chief was steadily resolved to frustrate all attempts to plant the new faith. The more they learnt of the language and the people, the less likely did it seem that any progress would be made at Hihifo. The outlook was more discouraging here than in Mua in Lawry's time. Both the Missionaries fell into despondency. Hutchinson was a vigorous and energetic young man, but his health drooped in this

enervating climate and under the disheartening circumstances. Homesickness came upon him. By the middle of 1827 it was evident that he and his wife neither could nor would stay much longer in Tonga. Thomas ascribed the failure to his own inefficiency, and wrote bitter things against himself.

Had I possessed more information [he says] and a more competent ability for this great work before I left home, then I might have spent more time in the study of the language than I can now. . . . What a raw, weak, uncultivated wretch was I when I left old England ! And though I have, by study, sorrow, and deep distress, learned something, yet even now how little I know that I ought to know, and must know before I can be deserving of the name of a Preacher of the Gospel, much less of a Methodist Missionary ! . . . It is a subject which very much humbles me when I see that through my inability . . . the salvation of souls is possibly delayed. O Lord, do Thou have mercy on me, and on these people ! May they not perish through my weakness.

Occasional incidents gave gleams of hope, as when the Mission was visited on Easter Monday by an aged and blind lady, sister of the late and aunt of the present king of the island, whom Thomas calls 'the greatest woman in Tonga.' She made herself most agreeable, and told how she remembered the visit of Captain Cook (whom she called 'Tooti,' his traditional name in the islands), and how she had befriended the Missionaries of 1797. Next evening Tubou, the powerful chief of Nukualofa, arrived, evidently wishful to make the acquaintance of the Missionaries ; he expressed his displeasure at the treatment they were receiving. Thomas remarks : 'He seems athirst for knowledge, and that of God.' Tubou had been now for some time under the influence of a certain Tahitian Christian teacher, to whom we shall refer immediately. Next day came the news of a French ship-of-war at anchor off Nukualofa, the largest town of the island, situated on its chief harbour, about twelve miles east of Hihifo. Through this conveyance letters were received—the first home news for ten months ! Tidings were sent back to Sydney and London of the anxious plight of the Mission. Hutchinson must be removed without delay, and, if the Mission was to be continued, a supply must be sent in his place ; the prospect was not such as to warrant further outlay at the present time—so Thomas's report ran.

In spite of the cheering occurrences above related the

prospect at Hihifo became continually darker. Fihana, the chief's priest-sister, uttered at the kava-ring an oracle forbidding further intercourse with 'the praying *Papalangi*.' The children who had begun to gather at the Mission house in order to learn reading were withdrawn. Ata prevented his people trading with the Missionaries; they were threatened with boycotting and positive starvation. The French sailors recently on shore had misconducted themselves—a village on the coast had been bombarded—and the Natives were angered against foreigners. The Hutchinsons were now fully resolved on returning to the colonies, and the Thomases saw no other course before them. Fearing that the Mission property, on which Ata had made many exactions, would be plundered, Thomas packed up its valuables with a view to transmitting them to Sydney at the first opportunity.

In July a small brig appeared off the coast, arriving, as the forlorn Missionaries anticipated, in answer to their recent message. Ata was informed of their intention to depart. He was taken aback, and appeared much grieved at the announcement; but he showed no anger, and, to the agreeable surprise of the Mission-people, directed that every assistance should be given them for embarking. On reaching the ship the intending passengers found that it had not come to remove them, but to bring them help! Mr. Weiss was on board, a young Local Preacher of Sydney designated for the ministry, whom the New South Wales Missionaries had sent to their aid. Having made up their minds to leave Hihifo, Thomas and Hutchinson would not consent to his landing. Finding the vessel, however, to be without accommodation for their own passage, they put on board the bulk of their luggage, keeping only the barest necessities, and sent Weiss back with a note begging their Sydney friends to arrange at once for their removal. So the missionary party had to remain at Hihifo awaiting means of transport. Thomas writes in his diary:

If I believed it was the will of God for me to continue, and even to shed my blood in this place, I should be willing to remain. But I cannot see what good would be answered by remaining. . . . Oh, that the Lord would frustrate my designs in this if they are not agreeable to His will!

Thomas's closing petition, offered in humble sincerity, was

answered ; the petitioner's despondent purpose was overruled. At this juncture Mr. Thomas records his conviction that no civilized woman should be sent amongst the islanders ; the Missionaries must be prepared to dress and fare like the Natives in all respects ; they must take no property with them, for this only excites cupidity. They must look for their sustenance to the bounty of the chief under whose patronage they place themselves, ' which at times,' he observes, ' will be scanty.' Such over-hasty conclusions have often been expressed by young Missionaries undergoing the reaction of disappointment which is apt to follow upon a sanguine beginning.

Nathaniel Turner, at this time in Sydney, who had consented with reluctance to the departure of Weiss for Tonga, was on the eve of sailing himself to New Zealand to resume his work there when Weiss returned with his distressing report and Thomas's despairing message. He was now Chairman of the District including both Stations. He took counsel once more with the New South Wales brethren ; they and he agreed that an effort must be made to save the imperilled Mission. A second retreat from Tonga would be irreparable. Thomas's temperament was known at Sydney ; and to Turner, reading between the lines, who had suffered far worse things from the heathen in New Zealand, the case did not look so desperate as to the baffled men on the spot. Some news had probably come of the favourable situation presented at Nukualofa. The emergency admitted of no delay. A formidable expense had been already entailed by Weiss's voyage ; to charter a second vessel for Hihifo meant a further and heavier outlay, incurred without permission from home. But to leave the Tongan brethren in the lurch was not to be thought of.

Turner took the bold and, as it proved, the wise course of going himself to Tonga in order to examine the situation, and to save the Mission if this were in any way possible. He left Hobbs and Stack to go to New Zealand without him ; and, taking his wife and children along with him, commandeered for the same destination William Cross, who had just arrived from England, accompanied by his wife, *en route* for New Zealand, whither he had been designated by the Mission House. This was an unparalleled departure from official order ; but ' desperate diseases call for desperate remedies.' The whole

future of our South Sea Mission depended on Turner's swift decision. The irregular step was justified by its success, and the heavy censure passed upon him by Hatton Garden was in the end handsomely reversed.¹ Quite a large party now set out for Tonga. Beside the Turners (including three children) and the Crosses there were Mr. and Mrs. Weiss and their family of three, two European servants, and three New Zealanders—two boys and a girl—whom Mr. Turner had brought away in the escape from Wesleydale.

Such was the reply which, after sixteen weeks of suspense, the two Hihifo Missionaries received to their cry for release. Their brethren, they found with amazement, could not believe in their failure, and were come full of kind encouragement to bid them go forward. The goods they had sent off to Sydney were landed again; with the new men came new supplies, and, what was more, new hopes and plans. Turner's buoyancy was a tonic for Thomas's diffidence, who was a pessimist by constitution, but no coward.

About the time of Thomas and Hutchinson's settlement at Hihifo a couple of Christian teachers from Tahiti, destined for Fiji, were landed at Nukualofa on their way, and detained by the chief Tubou. Although their language was a very imperfect means of communication with the Tongans, the message they brought arrested Tubou and interested many of his people. He listened to them gladly, and before long built them a meeting-house, in which hundreds of people gathered to hear their addresses. A number of the hearers declared their wish to accept *lotu*. It was under these circumstances that Tubou had visited Hihifo for further inquiry. Turner came with the hope that a fresh attempt might be made at Nukualofa. In New Zealand the Mission was acting on our Lord's instruction, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee to another.' He and Thomas forthwith visited Tubou, and Taepe, his teacher, at Nukualofa.² They were received with

¹ Turner submitted to the rebuke administered from home with meekness and composure. He wrote in reply: 'Let it not be thought that I would encourage a spirit of rebellion; no, I am really sorry that I have been led into error [this seemingly relates to the proceedings in regard to Weiss], while I rejoice that the Lord has overruled it for good. . . . Though I am now black enough in the books of the Society, still I have a hope that they will yet think of me for good. And I likewise indulge a hope that, though the Committee oblige me to pay my share of the £300 [spent without permission on the emergency in Tonga], they will allow me at least so much as will meet it, in consideration of the more than £200 of personal loss in New Zealand [consequent on the Wesleydale calamity]. I feel for my family!'

² Taepe, the chief of the pair of Tahitian emissaries, was a devoted, faithful, and

entire cordiality. Mr. Thomas had recently heard by letter from the Missionary of the London Society in Tahiti that there was no desire in that quarter to occupy Tonga, and that its agents at Nukualofa were instructed to co-operate with the Wesleyans. Taepe was ready to put himself under Mr. Turner's direction, and Tubou showed unmistakable eagerness to secure the English Missionary for his town and people. By the chief's prompt and liberal assistance provision was quickly made for the settling of the new-comers at Nukualofa. Nathaniel Turner was by this time an experienced and seasoned Missionary; his knowledge of the Maori language and the Polynesian character stood him in good stead. He was satisfied that Tubou's goodwill was genuine, and that his mind was touched by the Spirit of God. Nukualofa was clearly marked out for the head quarters of the Mission to the Friendly Islands.

For a while Turner and Cross laboured together in Tubou's town, where they found more than enough to do. The Weisses returned shortly to New South Wales, Hatton Garden declining to endorse the provisional appointment made by the Sydney Synod. Hutchinson was persuaded to try again; and as Turner already suffered from the strain of his labours in Nukualofa it was arranged, early in 1828, that the two should change places for a while, with the hope that both would profit in health. In the case of the latter this hope was not realized, and Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson went back to the colonies. The Turners spent several months at Hihifo; their company lifted John Thomas out of the low spirits which had almost proved fatal to his career. Turner's experience helped his colleague into better ways of handling men and things, and he gained light upon much in the principles of the language which had baffled him. With revived courage his intellect, naturally vigorous and tenacious but backward in development, grew into unexpected power, and from this time he never faltered. The two composed hymns and school-primers jointly in Tonguese; they became fast friends, and worked together excellently.

Things now took a more hopeful course at Hihifo under the influence of Nukualofa, and through Ata's alarm at the humble man. He remained for some time with the Wesleyan Mission, to which he rendered invaluable service. Ultimately he returned to his native islands. His companion fell away from grace.

prospect of losing his *Papalangi*.¹ Scholars again resorted to the Mission, and groups of hearers gathered about the Missionaries as they talked. It was possible once more to sow the seed of the Gospel, though the field was narrow and stony. At the other centre schools for boys and girls were vigorously promoted, and grown-up people mingled with the juvenile scholars; the attendance was fifty on the first day, and rapidly increased. Already the Missionaries began to reduce the language to writing, aided by Mariner's vocabulary.² These lessons had to be painfully produced and multiplied in manuscript. The Maori youth, Tunkalu, was of great service in the school.

At Nukualofa the planting of the Mission occasioned a political crisis. Tubou³ was the rightful successor to the throne of Tonga, which had been kept vacant after his brother's death for some years; he was a contented, unambitious man, or would earlier have claimed possession. He now declared his intention to accept *lotu*. Determined to prevent this, the chiefs of the other towns threatened him with war. A conference was held on the situation, to which he summoned the Missionaries along with his opposers. Tubou could not surrender his conscience; he would not contemplate the alternative of war. He resolved on *exile*, and, turning to the people, who were spectators of the conference, said: 'So many of you as are for Jehovah follow me! Those who are for the devil sit still!' The assembly rose with him like one man, and the heathen leaders were deserted. Tubou at once prepared to sail away, intending to occupy an uninhabited island not far off; the two Missionaries were to go with him. On this the opposition changed their tactics, resorting to bribes instead of threats. They offered to invest Tubou at once with the hitherto withheld title of Tui-kunabololu,⁴ which signified the regal dignity, provided he would refrain from the *lotu*.

¹ Ata's behaviour from first to last was something of a mystery. Unlike most Tongans, he was reserved and close in disposition. Forming a real regard and liking for the Missionaries, he was mortally afraid of their religion. The conflict between his good sense and his rooted superstition was probably the clue to his crooked ways. He died an obdurate heathen, after many years of contact with Christianity.

² William Mariner, the sole survivor from the massacre of a French crew seized by the Tongans in 1806; he lived four years amongst the Natives. Mariner's memoirs were published under the title *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, with Grammar, &c.* (1817).

³ Tubou was the family name of the dynasty, always borne by the head of the clan.

⁴ Tui is the Tongan equivalent of the Maori *Te*, i.e. king, or chief-paramount.

What pledge Tubou gave to the electors it is impossible to say ; for the time he renounced his purpose, and held no open communication with the Missionaries. The church was closed, and Christian worship could only be carried on in private houses, a state of suspension continuing for several months. Meanwhile guards were set over the houses of the Missionaries and of the *lotu* people, whose lives were threatened, while the king sent assurances to Turner and his helpers of his continued goodwill. Tubou's sentiments were unchanged. So soon as he felt himself secure in power the church was reopened and the Mission resumed its activities ; before the end of the next year King Tubou was baptized. From this time Christianity was in the ascendant in Nukualofa. Tubou's reign lasted for nearly twenty years. He was not a great ruler, nor a man of commanding force ; but he had a kindly nature and honest intentions, and his conversion weighed not a little in favour of the *lotu* throughout Tonga.

Of still greater importance for the future was the visit paid in March, 1828, by Taufa-ahau, of Haabai, to his newly elected royal relative, Tubou. In the prime of life, the *beau idéal* of Tongan manhood and chivalry, this young chief was already the most renowned warrior of the islands. A man of herculean strength, with powers of mind that corresponded to the proportions of his bodily frame, Taufa-ahau was endowed besides with all the activity and resolution in which Tubou was lacking. He was already sceptical with regard to the Native religion, and had been notorious in youth for the tricks he played upon the Haabai sorcerers. On coming to Nukualofa, where Turner and Cross had by this time considerably developed the work begun by the teachers from Tahiti, Taufa-ahau was deeply impressed by the sight of Christian worship. He paid the closest attention to all he saw of the *lotu*,¹ and on leaving Nukualofa begged that a White Missionary should be sent to Lifuka, his residence, in order to instruct him and his people. Much was to come of this hereafter.

Somewhat earlier than the time of Taufa-ahau's visit Tubou had sent a delegation to Vavau headed by his nephew, to confer with Finau Ulukalala, the northern king, on the

¹ Turner had a long interview with the Haabaian king on the subject of religion. 'From the conversation,' he writes, 'sprang the first sincere desire for *lotu* on the part of Taufa-ahau, who has since become celebrated as the great and good King George of the Friendly Islands.'

question of the *lotu*. Tui Finau fell into a fit of anger on receipt of Tubou's message ; but his mood changed to grave concern at the report he heard. Finally he dispatched two letters, written with the help of a stranded British sailor at his court—one to Tubou, whom he regarded as his suzerain, acknowledging past misdemeanours, and declaring that he was tired of the demons and wished to serve Jehovah. The other letter, addressed to the Missionary Turner, was a striking document :

Sir, I am so glad to hear that you are at Tonga-tabu, teaching my friend Tubou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson [Sydney] for some Missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. I am tired of my spirits ; they tell me so many lies that I am sick of them ! Since Tubou-tatai came to see me I have had no sleep for fear Missionaries will be so long before they get here. But if a ship should come to your island, be so good as to send one of your Missionaries to me, so that my people may see I have turned my evil spirits away. My island, sir, will turn to the Great God, because I am the only chief on the island ; I have no one to control me. When I turn, they all turn ! To be sure, I did try to take a ship [Finau's last attempt at wrecking !] ; but there will be no more of that. Tubou-tatai tells me that all their spirits are lies. Be so kind, sir, as to go quick about Missionaries as time will allow. So no more from me, a wicked sinner.

(Signed) FINAU ; (his mark) XXX.

This man never did things by halves. If his request had been at once met, and the right man sent him, he would probably have accepted *lotu* forthwith ; as it was, he posed as a fierce persecutor for some years subsequently, seeing others favoured and himself passed by. Turner was living at Hihifo when Finau's appeal reached him. He promised to visit Vavau when he should settle again at Nukualofa ; but it was long before the promise could be fulfilled. Finau's letters and Taufa-ahau's visit were greatly cheering ; now the three kings of the Friendly Islands appeared to be all inquiring after God, and the whole country was opening to the Gospel, when a few months back it was doubtful whether even the single corner of Hihifo was tenable.

On June 1, 1828, King Tubou threw aside all hesitation by rejoining the public worship of Jehovah. A great throng gathered to Nukualofa for the occasion ; the heathen in the rest of the island remained quiescent. Many families came

to reside in Tubou's town, to be near the Christian teachers and to escape persecution. Nukualofa grew in strength and importance.

By this time Nathaniel Turner had returned to the capital, while Hutchinson removed to New South Wales, despairing of acclimatization. Turner's health had benefited much through the quieter interval spent at Hihifo. In Nukualofa Tubou's profession of faith opened 'a great and effectual door' for the Gospel. The Turners and Crosses were now fairly acquainted with the language, and the people poured in upon them seeking instruction. Head, heart, and hands were busy all day long. They were obliged to add the work of physicians to that of evangelists and schoolmasters, making the most of the poor science they possessed. Tubou-tatai, the late envoy to Vavau, was at death's door; by an almost desperate remedy a cure was effected, which advertised the skill of the *Papalangi* throughout the islands. 'The Mission enclosure became a Bethesda'; other sensational cures took place.

Out of a large number of cases treated, in two only, which had been late taken in hand, was there failure [writes Turner's biographer]. This was satisfactory. But there was another result far more so; not a few earnest persons found their way to the feet of Jesus, crying, 'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me whole!'

Who could doubt that in circumstances like these, where Christ's servants had gained such skill as opportunity afforded and used it with courage and compassion, touched with the sufferings of the people, a sanction attended their endeavour beyond anything that science could expect or could explain! This success furthered greatly the progress of the Tonga Mission. In the course of the winter (our summer) three villages neighbouring to Nukualofa received the word of the Lord; the idols were put away, and schools established in each.

On October 4 of that year Mr. Turner writes to the Mission House describing the happy change coming over the islands, and pleading for additional labourers. He tells how a ship-captain recently visiting Nukualofa, after making a round of the Friendly and Navigators' Groups, said he had almost everywhere been met with the inquiry, 'Have you any Missionaries on board?' On one island the Natives had erected a chapel ready for the teachers when they came. In

Haabai Taufa-ahau laid hold of a rough English sailor and insisted on his reading prayers, for which a house was provided, before the king and his servants. This improvised instructor taught the people letters by tracing them with a stick on the sand. In a letter to Mr. Leigh about the same time the Missionary writes :

The work is unquestionably begun. Many have laid aside their heathen customs and superstitions and, according to the light they possess, sincerely worship the true God. I can hear them pray to Jehovah in their little communities with such solemnity of spirit and propriety of expression as quite affects me. Observe, I do not say that any are evangelically converted ; but we expect this soon. We have above one hundred Natives under daily instruction. Our congregations on the Lord's Day average from three to four hundred, and they listen with eager attention. . . . Thousands in the neighbouring islands are crying, ' Come over and help us ! ' Our trials are severe, but they are swallowed up in our mighty concern to instruct and save the race.

Early in 1829 Taufa-ahau came again to Nukualofa expressly to beg for a Missionary. There was none to spare, and the best available substitute was offered him in the person of Peter Vi, the most competent Native teacher of the Mission. As in the case of his neighbour, Finau of Vavau, Taufa-ahau indignantly declined this alternative : ' Only a Tongan man ! ' said he. ' How should the people of Haabai pay heed to his religion ? ' He ' went away in a rage.' However, on the voyage home the king's canoes encountered an awful storm, and Taufa-ahau, interpreting this as a rebuke from the Christian's God, like Naaman, the Syrian captain, in the Old Testament story, returned in a humbler mood, and thankfully accepted the help proposed. Vi proved a great blessing to the Haabai folk, a number of whom in a short time openly embraced the *lotu*. The king made a friend and brother of him, and soon learnt all he could teach of the new faith. He showed himself from the first (as Vi put it) ' very mischievous to the gods.' The heathen priests taking alarm, and plots against the king being on foot, the latter summoned his retainers to a feast prepared by the Christians, at which he publicly declared his belief in Jesus Christ, and, adding deeds to words, dashed in pieces his idols and pulled down their houses (*maraes*) before the eyes of the assembly. His example was followed in many of the Haabai islands.

John Thomas at Hihifo saw the first reward of his patient though often desponding labours. Despite his step-father's opposition and his mother's bigoted heathenism, Lolohea,¹ son of Baba, Ata's wife, and of her former husband, Tubou's brother and predecessor, had perseveringly attached himself to the Missionaries. An invalid in health, he was exceptionally thoughtful and much esteemed by his kindred. A troop of boys waited upon him. At length he besought baptism, which, after instruction, was administered to the royal youth, in the presence of his heathen mother, in January, 1829. The young man was manifestly 'born of the Spirit' and not 'of the water' only. Prince Lolohea was the first baptized Tonguese convert. Six others, received into the Church at Nukualofa, quickly followed—all young men, and all subsequently Preachers to their own people; three of them became evangelists to other islands. Peter Vi was the leader of the six. He attached himself from the outset to the Mission at Nukualofa, and showed so much intelligence that Mr. Turner had been used to call him in on the Monday morning to criticize the Sunday sermon, in the way of emending his own Tonguese diction and indicating where he had succeeded or failed in reaching the hearers' understanding. At the end of March five Tonguese women were baptized, including the wife of Tubou; and on May 4 the first Christian marriages were celebrated in the islands. About the same time came the first burial with Christian rites—that of a native chief christened *Job*, because of his patience in suffering, who had found the Saviour under his affliction. In April the three Missionaries met, including Thomas, to complete the first Tongan Christian lesson-book—containing Scripture-readings, catechism, and hymns—which was sent for printing to Sydney. All this was much to have accomplished in two years. A naval commander who just then visited Tonga, after seeing the Tahiti and New Zealand Missions, declared that the spectacle of transformation at Nukualofa surpassed all he had witnessed.

Baptisms now multiplied, and on the evening of Sunday, June 7, twenty-six Natives, carefully prepared, knelt with their pastors at the Lord's Table. A few days later King Tubou for the first time 'met in Class'; his public prayer had

¹ Farmer and Rowe write the young man's name *Lolohea* (or *ia*); in Turner's *Life* it is spelt *Soholea*. Miss Farmer gives a full and pathetic account of Lolohea's conversion and death on pp. 178-187 of her story.

the weight and unction of one accustomed to the exercise for years. The people followed his example, with no air of servility; 'they could talk of nothing else than learning to read, attending the Class, being baptized, and going to heaven.' It seemed as though all Nukualofa, with the country about it, was pressing into the kingdom of God. After a few months, on October 11, the first Native Lovefeast was summoned; some 150 members of Society attended the gathering, of whom nearly a third found time to speak. This institution suited the Tongans well.

Oh, how our hearts were melted [writes the Missionary] while we heard them with simplicity and earnestness state their conversion from heathenism to Christ!

Ata, at Hihifo, remained unaffected; he was 'a tough piece of heathenism.' After three years' labour there were but three Church members, and these on trial; the people were warned again and again that if they accepted *lotu* they would be killed! King Taufa-ahau came to invite Thomas to his country, knowing how obdurate was the disposition of the Hihifo chief, and telling him how much he was wanted in the other islands. Experience had made the Missionary sceptical of such assurances; but Taufa-ahau's importunity could not be resisted. Ata was informed of the proposal to remove his Missionary; he replied, civilly enough, that he loved Mr. Thomas, but would not turn for him nor for any one else. 'It is good for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine.' Mr. Thomas might go to Haabai if he liked. It was decided that the change should be made; the Thomases removed to Nukualofa, pending the receipt of permission from London for the acceptance of Taufa-ahau's invitation.

A strange providence at this juncture set the Missionary free to obey the new call. The scrupulous Thomas for months had been waiting at Nukualofa, till he should receive sanction from head quarters for his removal. The expected dispatch had been forwarded, along with much-needed supplies for the Tonga Mission, but the carrier vessel foundered on the way from New Zealand. The only trace of ship or cargo that ever appeared was a packet thrown up on the shore of Tonga-tabu, which the finder carried to Mr. Turner. This contained the letter of instructions from Hatton Garden, giving permission

for Thomas's transference.¹ The Thomases sailed forthwith for Lifuka, Taufa-ahau's island, where they landed on January 30, 1830. The revolution which Vi and the king had already effected was astounding. In fifteen out of the eighteen inhabited Haabai islands public idol-worship was abolished; the *maraes* (temples) had become places of Christian prayer or dwelling-houses. A congregation of three hundred regularly assembled at the Lifuka chapel, already built. When, two days after their arrival, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas opened schools for boys and girls, a hundred scholars assembled in each to begin with.

Contrast could hardly be greater than between the state of things Thomas had left at Hihifo and that he found in Lifuka. The scenes awaiting the Missionary recalled the marvels of the Acts of the Apostles. Like Turner at Nukualofa, so Thomas found himself compelled, willy-nilly, to play the physician as well as the preacher and teacher. The people, to be sure, were still largely heathen in morals as in understanding; but they had cast away their idols, and turned their faces toward Jehovah; their great desire was to learn the Christian way. Thomas was the most careful and phlegmatic of men; his knowledge of Tongan character made him mistrust the enthusiasm he witnessed, and for some time he failed to appreciate the abandon with which the king had thrown himself into the cause of the *lotu*; 'the Lord's doing' was 'marvellous in his eyes.' But these suspicions gradually melted.

On January 18, the Sunday after Vi's arrival with the news of the Haabai king's confession of Christ, King Tubou, along with his children, was received into the Church by baptism; he took the name of *Josiah*. The chief priest, to whom he had many times prayed as to a god, was baptized on the same day. Three weeks before that date eighty-four baptisms had been celebrated at Nukualofa.² The more advanced of the converts were made catechists to the more backward, the Missionary personally instructing the former, who retailed his lessons to the latter. How much the novices had to learn, and how practically they took their lessons, was evident when, after an

¹ See the *Life of Rev. N. Turner*, p. 113; also Farmer's *Tonga*, pp. 203, 204.

² One of these was a Native woman who chose the name *Eve*. She came in a few days to the Missionary asking him to *un-baptize* her, for, said she, 'all the children of the place make sport of me, calling me "the mother of all evil!"' The youngsters were learning Scripture fast, and the lessons had not spoilt their playfulness.

instruction on the subject of *restitution*, next morning a heap of missing household articles, brought from various quarters, reappeared at the Mission house !

Early in March proof of a change in the people's spirit was given in another way. A French whaling-ship struck on a reef not far out at sea. The captain and crew made for Nukualofa in their boats, fearful for their lives. They found protection and hospitality. The king sent a party of Natives to recover for them what could be saved from the wreck. The knowledge of this incident quickly spread, and the excellent Nukualofa harbour became henceforth a recognized port of call and refuge for European shipping in the South Pacific.

The church built for the Tahitian teachers, with the school-houses later annexed to it, was now quite outgrown. In May, 1830, the foundations of a large new sanctuary were laid. The site chosen was the most conspicuous in the island—the crown of a hill about eighty feet high, which formed the citadel of Nukualofa. In four months the building, seventy feet by thirty in dimensions, was completed. The Native workmen were delighted to handle the European tools, and Polynesian was blended with British taste in the plans and style.

At the end of June, while this work was in process, Messrs. Williams and Barff, of the London Missionary Society, arrived to visit the Wesleyan stations, attended by a company of Tahitians ; the first named was the famous John Williams, known as ' the Apostle of the South Seas.' Their coming was a delight and refreshment to the Mission staff, and provided a spiritual festival for the people. The visitors went on to the Haabais, escorted by Mr. and Mrs. Cross, who were visiting the Thomases to give them temporary assistance. Williams devotes two chapters (xvii. and xviii.) of his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* mainly to his visitation of the Friendly Islands. This missionary expert was gratified by his inspection of the Methodist Mission there, particularly by the work accomplished in the Haabai Circuit ; the personality of King Taufa-ahau greatly impressed him. He relates an important conversation held with Mr. Turner at Nukualofa respecting the division of labour between the two Societies. The exclusive assignment of the Samoan (Navigators') Islands to the London Missionary Society, which occasioned so much heart-burning subsequently, appears to have been mooted at this conference.

As often happens in discussions followed by no written agreement, the parties differed in their recollection of what passed between them. When the matter came up some years later Nathaniel Turner disclaimed having given to his visitors any promise to the effect recorded in Williams' *Narrative*. A general understanding that competition and overlapping should be avoided was all Turner and his colleagues supposed to be meant ; they had no power to effect a delimitation of territory, nor to bind the future action of their Society. Williams and Barff appear to have translated in their own minds the general intention into the terms of a definite compact.¹

On the last day of this *annus mirabilis* Turner writes in his journal :

A year of great and substantial prosperity to our Mission. We have more than doubled our Church members ; more than a thousand are under instruction in our schools. We have received the joyful news that three brethren and sisters have left England to join our Mission. Gratitude and praise ought to flow from us for God's abounding goodness to me and mine. Nevertheless, I have cause to humble myself before the Lord. Much infirmity has attached to my proceedings. At times great have been my physical weakness and suffering. At our late District Meeting my brethren came to the same conclusion as myself, that I shall soon be compelled to leave Tonga for a more healthy climate, or sink into the grave. I greatly love my work and people, but when I think of my dear wife and six children, and my health so sensibly failing, my heart would sink within me !

On Covenant Sunday in the New Year two hundred knelt at the Lord's Table at Nukualofa ; the joy of the day was high and solemn, but Turner's strength visibly gave way. It was a great relief, to himself and to his friends, when the arrival of the expected reinforcements in March set him free to escape the tropical sun. Four years earlier he had left New Zealand under conditions how different ! This was the parting of a father from spiritual children who owed to him their own selves ; the wrench was almost equally painful to his family. Nathaniel Turner's coming had changed the face of everything for the Mission, and for the future of Tonga. He had snatched victory out of imminent defeat, and the blame incurred from the missionary chiefs in England by his unhesitating inter-

¹ Turner's biographer, on p. 94 of the *Life*, has occasion to correct another inaccuracy of the *Missionary Enterprises*, of no great moment except as going to show that Williams' observation was sometimes more vivid than exact.

position for the rescue of the Friendly Islands enterprise had been changed into admiration. Shortly before Turner sailed for Sydney a report came from the once despairing John Thomas to the effect that in the Haabai Group five hundred people were meeting in Class, and a new chapel had been built at Lifuka more capacious than that at Nukualofa ! Vavau was on the point of being occupied ; then 'all Tonga,' Turner foresaw, 'would embrace the Gospel.' His prophetic eye looked farther.

There is certainly [he concludes in writing to London] an important missionary field among the Fijis, and I think you will do well to make a beginning there.

Nathaniel Turner's work was never resumed in the Friendly Islands ; but rarely has any man accomplished so much for a people in so short a time.

The three new-comers, all bringing wives with them, were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Watkin and Woon have already figured in this History. Both migrated to New Zealand, and acquitted themselves worthily there, the former after seven years of fruitful labour in Tonga. Watkin was a clever as well as a devoted man, a thorough evangelist and pastor, and a good vernacular Preacher. Woon set up the Tongan printing-press, for the employment of which the Mission was now ripe. His health suffered in the enervating climate, and, losing heart, after a brief period he withdrew from the ministry. Perhaps Thomas was a little hard upon him. Makirō, in New Zealand a second trial with better success, Woon resumed his place in the missionary ranks. Peter Turner—a Cheshireman like Nathaniel, but not of the same family—resembled his namesake in heartiness, unction, and simplicity of character. He came to fill a large place in the Tongan Mission, and was the Methodist apostle of Samoa. Of slight physique and somewhat timid manner, a poor sailor, slow, moreover, in his first steps in the language, the younger Turner was underestimated at first acquaintance ; but he had grit and heart, and wore better than many stronger men. The Natives greatly loved him.

Nathaniel Turner was succeeded in the direction of the District by John Thomas, a Chairman scrupulously strict and exact, but full of deprecations for his unworthiness ! He

removed to Nukualofa at the end of the year 1831, leaving in charge over Haabai Peter Turner, who in his nine months of missionary apprenticeship there had earned 'a good degree and great confidence.' The work of God went forward with growing momentum during 1830. Thomas's distrust of the sensational led him to hold back the rush to the *lotu*; he dreaded the supervening in the Haabais of a wholesale, shallow conversion; but he was wellnigh overborne. His Circuit included a dozen islands beside Lifuka, and was most difficult to superintend. In the middle of this year his work was interrupted by a long illness. Much of his time was taken up by literary translation; and this in the way of secular rudiments, as well as of Scripture and religious knowledge. Thus we read in his diary for October 18:

I finished a book for the chief on the names of the days and the number of weeks and months in the year. It is a kind of almanac, and contains the numerals, in figures, up to 100,000.

Taufa-ahau was the central figure of the Christian movement in Haabai. Every step he took told upon his people, and the heathen malignants made him their mark. A court-crisis arose not long after Thomas's coming to Lifuka. The king was to be married as a Christian to the single wife of his choice. Finau of Vavau was invited to the wedding, and brought a retinue. Relatives of Taufa-ahau from Tonga-tabu were also there; it was a national occasion. The heathen chiefs of Haabai pressed around their sovereign. Suddenly a great sickness fell upon him. The heathen were for conveying him perforce to Uipa, the sacred island containing the sepulchres of the kings, whither it was customary to carry them at the approach of death. Taufa-ahau stoutly refused to be moved; and Ulakai, his Christian uncle from Tonga-tabu, stood in the way. Peter Vi (who tells the story) was keeping watch at the king's chamber door, all the while 'secretly and earnestly praying to the Lord' against the enemies' machinations. With some difficulty he found Mr. Thomas, and informed him of the hostile design. The Missionary and he entered the royal apartments together, and found that a potion had been administered in Vi's absence to the sufferer by a heathen official whom they had reason to suspect. Thomas and Cross—for both Missionaries were now on the scene—countered the perilous drug with an emetic,

followed by other medicine. But the patient was now reduced to extreme weakness ; for hours his life hung by a thread. ' No Christian slept that night,' says Vi ; chiefs and people, men, women, and children, prayed with all their might to God. At dawn a woman's cry sounded, which the hearers at first took to be the death-wail—the king's sister was weeping for joy ; he had awakened, with the fever gone !

Thus [concludes Peter Vi] the Lord heard our prayer, and blessed the medicine. Our king lived, and therefore we rejoiced in the Lord. From that time the *lotu* spread and increased in strength, and the devil's kingdom grew weaker and weaker.

Nothing was proved against the suspected parties, but the symptoms, and the known character of the ringleaders concerned, pointed to an attempt at murder by poison.

The king and queen henceforth behaved as nursing-father and mother to the Church. Thomas describes with delight the simple, good-humoured way with which they took their place amongst the catechumens, reciting the lessons, answering questions, and receiving corrections, along with the little children. Occasionally Taufa-ahau would give a simple and downright address to his people on their religious duty. The pastor is particularly struck with the firm and gentle tone in which he addresses his subjects—a style the opposite to that usual with the chiefs ; here was one secret of Taufa-ahau's extraordinary influence. Though the Missionary was not aware of it, his disciple's manner was partly copied from his own ; John Thomas belittled himself and exalted his duty to an uncommon degree. Before the end of the year a thousand people were in regular attendance at Christian worship in Lifuka alone ; it would have been easy to number, throughout the island-group, thousands of baptized converts, had the Missionaries been willing to receive all who offered themselves.

In March, 1831, after Thomas had suffered a second grave attack of sickness, and when he and his wife were almost reduced to native clothes for dress, letters and supplies arrived from England—the first communication for nearly two years. On April 10 the new church was opened at Lifuka with great *éclat* ; it was the Methodist cathedral of the islands. A little later the newly appointed Missionary arrived, just in time to save Thomas from an utter breakdown. Peter Turner, the

colleague assigned him, was Thomas's complement—eager, active, affectionate, and of a demonstrativeness and fervour stimulating to his melancholic nature. The activity of the printing-press, now inaugurated at Nukualofa, relieved the Haabai Mission at this juncture of much irksome mechanical labour.

Taufa-ahau had postponed his baptism more than once, being fearful of himself and of the steadfastness of his purposes. On August 7, 1831, the great event took place.

I preached [writes Thomas] on Acts ii. 32-41. . . . After the sermon the chief stood, and in a very humble and becoming manner made confession of his faith and his purpose to give himself and his children to Christ. He thanked the Lord and the people in England who had sent the good word to him and his people, and exhorted the people to give themselves to the Lord. . . . He had chosen for his name *George*—or (as we write it) *Joaji*—out of respect to our good old king (George III), whose memory is cherished in these islands. The three children¹ are baptized as *Charlotte* (Salote), *David* (Tefita), and *Josiah* (Josaia). The season was solemn and profitable. The Lord grant the chief his heart's desire, to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and to have a new heart.

The prayer just recorded expressed the misgiving felt by Thomas and his coadjutors up to this time, and often indicated in their letters, that the extensive Christianization effected in Tonga had been so far comparatively external—a change proceeding rather from the understanding and will of the man than from the transforming power of the Spirit of God. Hence, with all the satisfaction of the Missionaries in the acceptance of their message, they recognized that a far deeper work of grace was necessary, that the more vital and solid results they aimed at remained to be achieved. The Pentecost of Tonga was yet to come.

Before the date of King George's baptism the Mission had extended its operations to Vavau. Overtures had come from this quarter, as we have seen, even earlier than from Haabai; but the Missionaries were at that time unable to respond. Still earlier the London Mission had cherished designs upon Vavau as upon Fiji, and three of its teachers from Tahiti had been landed here, to prepare the way for the appointment of a European. Unhappily, these men deserted their calling. When Williams and Barff visited the islands in 1830, finding

¹ The queen had been christened some time before.

the Wesleyan Mission successfully at work, they decided to leave the Vavauans to their care.

Finau Ulukalala,¹ the chief-paramount of Vavau, who was now advanced in years, had been a fierce and ambitious warrior; at one time he seemed on the way to conquer the whole archipelago. Thwarted in his purpose to secure an English Missionary on his visit to Nukualofa, Finau went home 'resolved that none of his people should be permitted to pray!' But a number of the Vavauans who had attended Christian worship in Nukualofa had received impressions they could not shake off. Two of these, named Faone and Lube, openly professed their faith in Christ. Summoned to the chief's presence, they refused to recant. In face of his angry threats they fled to Haabai, forsaking family and goods. Here persecution followed them, and Finau offered tempting bribes to induce their submission and return.

Tell the king [they replied] that if he will permit us to pray we will go; but if not, we will not go. We prefer a life of poverty, where we can pray to God, to wives, or houses, or lands, without God!

Such was the beginning of Christianity in Vavau. Of these two brave witnesses for God Faone lived for many years, to become (as West testifies) 'an able and very original and powerful Preacher,' who did good service in Fiji, to which country he went at the call of his Church a few years after his conversion. Faone's prudence was not equal to his zeal, and he involved himself more than once in needless trouble; but he and his companion deserve honour for their martyr spirit.

Other demonstrations were made in favour of the new faith in Vavau, which the king repressed savagely. There were signs, nevertheless, that the witness of Faone and Lube was working on his mind; the despot had met a power for which he felt himself no match. In April, 1831, Taufa-ahau, with whom Finau was on terms of friendship as well as kinship, paid him a state-visit, bringing a fleet of twenty-four canoes. He applied all his powers of suasion to remove his kinsman's prejudice against the *lotu*. With much difficulty he extracted from Finau the promise to receive a Missionary, if sent direct to him from England! Instantly Taufa-ahau went off to his

¹ This man is the 'Finau Fiji' of Mariner's *Account*.

Missionaries at Lifuka, leaving his fleet in the Vavau harbour, and returned with a letter from the hands of Messrs. Thomas and Turner giving the promise desired. Upon this Finau consented to unite with his brother-king in the public worship of Jehovah, at his capital, Neiafu. Service was conducted on this memorable occasion by Taufa-ahau's chaplain, Peter Vi. A man who did nothing by halves, Ulukalala after this gave orders for the *maraes* and the idols to be burnt throughout his dominions.¹ The majority of his people were ready at the word, and for three days the smoke of the conflagration 'darkened the azure sky of Haafuluhao.'

A crowd of Haabai Christians had come in Taufa-ahau's canoes; the Vavauans thronged around them with inquiries. Themselves still babes in Christ, the visitors were eager to tell all that they knew.

For days and nights in succession they talked, read, prayed, and sang with the new converts. The thirst of the people for the word and worship of God was insatiable; it was with difficulty that Taufa-ahau and his followers could tear themselves away on their return to Haabai.

Repression had served as a dam to raise to full height the flood of the Christian tide in Vavau. Soon Finau had to face a rebellion of the heathen, headed by his half-brother Laulaho, who had recently returned from Fiji. He was compelled to call in Taufa-ahau's military aid. The heathen had armed themselves and committed great devastation. Refusing to come to terms, they were besieged, and their fort was at length taken by stratagem, through a panic excited amongst the defenders. The prisoners were spared—a leniency unexampled in Tongan warfare. This bloodless victory produced the happiest effect. Idolatry was now abolished throughout the Haafulahao Group before any foreign Missionary had set foot there. During the later months of 1830 Mr. Thomas

¹ The burning of the Vavau gods was a dramatic scene. On the Monday morning following his act of Christian worship Finau held an assembly of his people. Seven of the principal idols were brought to the front and set in a row before him. He addressed them thus: 'I have brought you here to prove you; and I will tell you beforehand what I am about to do, that you may be without excuse.' A warning followed, given to the idols by name: 'If you are a god, run away, or you will be burned in the fire I have prepared!' Then a pause, and some moments of suspense. When none of the seven gods either spoke or stirred the images were carried back and replaced in their shrines, to which forthwith, at the king's command, torches were applied. 'Hundreds' of the heathen 'sat trembling and silent, looking for no less than some awful calamity. As no harm happened to the doers of the daring deed they came to the conclusion that their gods must be liars, after all, and they joined the praying people' (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 211).

more than once visited Vavau from Lifuka, in company with the king of Haabai; twice over he preached (as he believed) to four thousand Vavauans! He was able thus to give encouragement and direction to the Native teachers, and acquired a strong personal influence over Finau.

Two years later, when Finau had been baptized (by the name of Zephaniah) and had given evidence of a deep change of heart, he died in the faith of Christ. Endorsing his dying nomination, the Vavauans elected King George in his stead, who thus became, by the end of 1833, sovereign over two out of the three political divisions of the Friendly Islands.

Two Native teachers had been sent to Vavau on the return of Taufa-ahau's fleet; they reported that larger congregations gathered around them than they had ever seen in Lifuka. 'Surely,' they said, 'the reign of the devil at Vavau was broken!' The reinforcement of the Tonga Mission, which took place in 1831, made it possible to plant a Missionary here. The Synod held at the end of that year determined that William Cross—now second in length of service on the islands—should go to Neiafu (Vavau) while James Watkin joined Peter Turner at Lifuka, and William Woon remained in Tonga-tabu, assisting John Thomas, who succeeded Nathaniel Turner there. Peter Turner had spent but nine months in Haabai under Thomas's direction; Watkin had undergone an apprenticeship in Tonga-tabu of no greater length; both men had, however, acquitted themselves exceedingly well.

A distressing bereavement befell the Mission through these removals. The Crosses set sail from Nukualofa for Neiafu early in January, 1832. They carried all their belongings with them and a store of goods for barter, since they had to set up a new establishment. King Josiah had lent them a royal canoe, on which seventy of his people voyaged accompanying the Missionary. They started with a fair wind; but before noon a storm arose, which disabled the vessel and carried them out of their reckoning. After two days and nights of battling with the tempest they had nearly reached safety on the coast of Tonga-tabu, when a sudden gust drove the canoe against a reef in the dark. All were washed off into the sea; and Mrs. Cross, who was reduced to extreme weakness by the exposure following upon previous illness, succumbed in the

struggle to reach the shore, dying in her husband's arms. He was dragged through the breakers unconscious. The Natives who got a footing on the reef constructed a raft from the wreckage, which sufficed to bear twenty of them, with the Missionary, to a tiny island not far distant ; on to this refuge they managed to scramble. Guided by the fire which the first-comers lighted, others swam or floated to the same point. Next day, as the gale abated, a canoe crossed from Hihifo, where the flotsam had given intimation of the disaster, and the survivors were rescued. Twenty lives were lost beside that of the Missionary's wife. Her body was washed up on the shore near Hihifo, and was laid amidst the Christian dead at Nukualofa. This was the first missionary grave to be opened in Tonga ; it held the dust of a gentle, brave, and patient soul, who was ' faithful unto death.' Greatly shaken, robbed of wife and goods, William Cross held to his duty ; in a few months he made his way to Vavau, where he took charge of the new Mission. In the following September Finau's baptism signalized the full ascendancy of Christianity in Vavau ; five hundred souls were gathered into the Church here. In Haabai by this time twice as many had been admitted.

The Mission was now firmly established in the three kingdoms and its work went forward apace, spreading uniformly over all the islands except Tonga-tabu, where a number of leading chiefs, like Ata at Hihifo, opposed the conversion of their people. This led to a migration from the heathen towns, which added to the exasperation of the hostile chiefs. King Josiah Tubou, a mild and easy ruler, exerted no pressure in favour of the *lotu*, and overlooked patiently many acts of violence and insubordination on the part of his nobles. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, on returning to Tonga-tabu, visited their old acquaintances, the Hihifo chief and his family, whom they found friendly as before, but more fixed in heathen prejudice than ever. In March, 1833, Ata died, and active persecution ceased in his town. The house built by Thomas still stood, and the Mission property remained intact ; it was reoccupied in 1837.

About the end of 1833 two valuable recruits joined the Mission from England, Charles Tucker and David Cargill. The latter was a Master of Arts of Aberdeen, the first trained scholar to labour in the islands. Cargill was sent with a view

to carry through the translation-work already in progress ; he proved highly efficient in this department, both in Tonga and afterwards in Fiji. He was a man of intellectual grasp and varied powers, and of complete devotion. His contemporary Tucker, a very capable all-round Missionary, accomplished much during his eight years' work in the islands. In the official Stations for 1832 and 1833 these two are designated for Fiji—a premature nomination. Cargill afterwards headed the Fiji Mission ; Tucker remained in Tonga. William Woon left the work at this juncture, and Hobbs was transferred hither from New Zealand. There were now six Missionaries in the Tonga District. Thomas, who was given to minimize rather than magnify successes, reported that more than 8,000 persons had embraced Christianity within the last six years ; 30,000 printed books had been put in circulation through the Nukualofa press. The provision of schools had not kept pace with the multiplication of Christian adherents ; there were, however, 5,000 scholars under instruction, with about 500 teachers. At the beginning of 1824 Turner (Peter) and Cargill were stationed in Vavau ; Watkin and Tucker in the Haabai Circuit ; the other three,¹ one of whom was occupied with the printing-press, on the chief island of Tonga-tabu.

The year 1834 was signalized for the Church of the Friendly Islands by one of the most memorable outpourings of the Holy Spirit Methodism has ever witnessed. The Missionaries newly appointed to Neiafu, in Vavau, like their brethren of other Circuits, were concerned at the want of depth characterizing the Christian profession of many of the Tongan converts. They called around them a few of the more spiritually-minded leaders, to pray specifically for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The members of the company promised to retire at noon daily to plead with God in concert for this supreme blessing. A sudden and amazing answer came to their intercession, when on July 23, at a village named Utui, where a Local Preacher² was discoursing on Christ's lament over Jerusalem, there came upon the congregation an overwhelming spirit of contrition.

¹ Cross had spent much of the previous year in a visit to New South Wales, whence he returned with restored health.

² By this time an army of Local Preachers and Class-leaders had been enlisted in the three Circuits. Many of these were men of remarkable efficiency, some of them of original power.

Every soul was prostrate before God ; many cried aloud in agony, some making open confession of past sins. Through the whole night weeping and prayers for pardon continued at Utui. The morning was greeted with shouts of joy over the assurance of God's forgiving love. Nothing like this had been seen in the islands before ; the Tongan nature was thought to be incapable of spiritual emotion so poignant. This befell on a Tuesday ; on the next Sunday, at another village, the entire population of five hundred, attending the service, was seized by the same influence. From village to village, from island to island, the holy epidemic spread.

In one single day, there was reason to believe, more than one thousand people were truly converted to God. The change was not from dumb idols merely, but from sin to righteousness, from the power of Satan unto God.

The schools had to be given up for the time, and six prayer-meetings were held a day at the same spot.

As soon as the Missionaries or Local Preachers began to speak the people were melted into tears, and hundreds fell on their faces, calling on the name of the Lord. The whole island of Vavau bowed before the power of God. The Society in a few months increased to three thousand members,

of whom more than two-thirds were ingathered under this mighty visitation. King George and his wife happened at the time to be staying in Vavau. They shared in the blessing which had come upon the people ; the faith which in their case, as with many others, had been hitherto comparatively notional, now reached the depths of the heart, and they entered unmistakably into the knowledge of salvation through the remission of sins.¹

The king sent a joyful message to his pastor at Haabai

¹ The change in the king was oddly manifested by the *lowering of the royal pew* in the church at Lifuka. When the building was under construction he had been grieved to find the pulpit made the highest position within the walls ; it was etiquette in all Tongan assemblies that the king should sit above his subjects. To guard his dignity, therefore, he had a platform raised for himself at the opposite end of the church, from which he could overlook the Minister. On his return from Vavau after the revival, *down came the royal platform* ; henceforth His Majesty sat in God's house on the same floor with the common man. King George after this was made a Local Preacher, qualifying for the Plan by study and examination like every local brother, and subject to the common discipline. A thoughtful, able, impressive Preacher he proved, as visitors to the islands repeatedly testified. Queen Charlotte became a useful Class-leader.

(James Watkin); other tidings came to Lifuka to the like effect. Ministers and Leaders there also betook themselves to prayer; and in a short time the same signs appeared as in the northern islands a few weeks before. The outstanding feature of the awakening, here as there, was a piercing conviction of personal sin against God, a flood of penitential sorrow and shame; the longing for the light of God's countenance swallowed up every other feeling in the subjects of this experience. Charles Tucker writes, describing one of the Lifuka scenes:

Oh, what a solemn, but joyful sight! One thousand or more individuals bowed before the Lord, weeping at the feet of Jesus and praying in an agony of soul. I never saw such distress, never heard such cries for mercy or such confessions of sin before. These things were universal, from the greatest chiefs in the land to the meanest of the people.

Some of the onlookers were frightened, thinking that 'a new and fearful disease had broken out,' until they, too, felt their nature's sickness, and sought and found the Good Physician. 'In the Haabai Islands' it was estimated 'that more than two thousand conversions took place in less than a fortnight.'¹

The wave of revival, sweeping over Lifuka in August, two months later reached Nukualofa, and spread through the Tonga-tabu Societies. Christian believers were quickened and brought to a deep experience of saving grace; backsliders were recovered; scores of heathen were converted. The manifestations of remorse for sin and longing for holiness which marked the movement elsewhere were equally prevalent here; there was the like absorption for days and weeks in thoughts of God and in religious rapture.

But in Tonga-tabu the awakening extended less widely than in the other islands; it affected principally the existing congregations. The barriers of militant heathenism were not broken down; indeed, resistance was exasperated by the

¹ The strange case of an English sailor who happened to be left behind by his ship on one of the Haabai Islands illustrates the extraordinary power attending the Tonga revival. This man found himself alone amongst an assembly of the Natives, understanding not a word of their speech. In the absence of the Missionary a Tongan teacher was directing the worship. Gradually, as the singing, praying, weeping, shouting, continued, the onlooker realized what it was all about; the people's looks and tones convinced him that this was no heathen, but a Christian congregation. Memory and conscience began to work; forgotten scenes of home piety were recalled; words of prayer and Scripture recurred to him. The poor fellow fell on his knees, to sob and cry for pardon like the rest. God's mercy visited his soul, and he 'became another witness of Christ's power to save to the uttermost' (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 249).

demonstrations of the revival. The feast of *Inaji*—Hikuleo's annual festival—was held at Mua. The chiefs assembled for this celebration attacked and burnt a Christian village near by; a general persecution was feared. For the time the trouble passed over, but the incident was symptomatic of the violent resistance this neighbourhood had made from the beginning to the work of the Spirit of God, and was premonitory of coming wars. For many years to come the larger part of Tonga-tabu, with the majority of its chiefs, remained heathen.

At the beginning of January, 1835, the District Synod met at Haabai; the work of the past year was reviewed with profound gratitude to God. An increase of 3,995 members had been given to the Church in this short time, raising the total numerical strength of the Methodist Society in the islands to close upon 7,500. No such Pentecost as that recently witnessed had hitherto been vouchsafed to any missionary District of Methodism; rarely, indeed, has it happened anywhere, or at any epoch in the history of the Church, that a whole population should be so seized by the Spirit of God, and so nearly brought in its entirety into the kingdom of His grace, as proved the case with the Vavau and Haabai Islands in 1834.

Nor was it a spasmodic influence, a transient tempest of religious feeling, which passed over the people. John Thomas, the head of this District, was apt to discount rather than exaggerate emotional manifestations; he demanded 'fruits meet for repentance,' and was not content with tears and groans. He and his colleagues testified to the thoroughness of the work of salvation thus sensationally wrought. Pure hearts and kindly tempers, a new devoutness and humbleness, decent and comely ways of life, a regeneration of society, followed on the spiritual upheaval. From King George downwards the Tongans showed themselves a people renewed in the spirit of their mind; 'a nation' had been 'born in a day.' Referring to the state of things in Haifulahao in the period subsequent to the revival, Mr. Thomas describes the diligent labour, the better houses, the land-improvements to be observed, along with the higher morals.

We may say [he adds] that these people are becoming more civilized.

industrious, economical, and obedient. They are wishful to imitate Europeans in everything excellent, but they are afraid of evil.

In the whole world there could scarcely be found another population so truly Christian in spirit and manners, up to its light, as King George's kingdom of Haabai and Vavau in the years immediately following 1834.

III

THE TONGAN CHURCH AFTER 1834

Evangelization and Edification—More Labourers for the Reaping—Rebel Chiefs—Tubou and Fatou—Visit of John Waterhouse.—Romanist Attempts—A spreading Gospel—Methodists of Uvea—Enthusiasm—A Royal Code of Laws—Revival—King George and the Disaffected—Political Disturbances—Complete Evangelization of the Friendly Islands.

It is a long way from Pentecost to the millennium. The course of the Church of Tonga after its baptism with the Spirit, like that of the primitive Church of Jerusalem, was sadly chequered. The marvellous blossoming of spiritual life witnessed in the year 1834 'set' but imperfectly; the fruitage had fallen short of its promise. There were causes of the comparative failure in the Tongan constitution, which has more susceptibility than staying power; but the declension is admonitory in other respects; it was of a kind too often noted in Methodist history. The Methodist Church has laid the emphasis of her teaching upon conversion and the right beginning of the Christian life; she has thought and planned too little for edification, for the development and culture of the Christian life. She has known how to gather in, but not so well how to keep those committed to her charge. Powerful in evangelism, her ministry has proved, on the whole, less efficient in the shepherding of souls. To get men 'converted,' 'saved,' 'brought to God'—this has been the absorbing aim of her great Preachers and Missionaries; but birth is a beginning; the infant soul requires wholesome nourishment, tender and wise and most watchful care, if it is to be reared to a sound manhood in Christ Jesus. Most of all is this the case when new converts are born directly out of heathenism.

The sudden and enormous augmentation of the Tongan Methodist Societies which took place in 1834 demanded an immediate strengthening of its ministry on the pastoral and teaching side. These thousands of new-born babes, emerging

from gross paganism into the dazzling light of Christianity, were in the utmost need of the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Much depended for the future of the people on the seizing of this critical hour, when the Tongan nature was plastic under the influence of the Spirit of God. It was the time to bring educational forces into action, to apply Christian discipline in full vigour to the mass of new but crude and formless life brought within its sway. Above all, provision should have been promptly made for the training of the more gifted Tongan minds, for the forming of a body of Native Ministers and schoolmasters, competent to serve as guides and lights to their own people. The Missionary Society at that period was scarcely prepared to meet such demands, nor was their force adequately realized. Instead of strengthening the slender staff employed in the Friendly Islands and furnishing it with additional agencies, the Mission House allowed it to be depleted ! The success of the Tonga Mission was now assured—so the authorities seem to have argued—and the Society might direct its chief care to other neighbouring fields. The glorious work of the Holy Spirit had solved the difficulties of these islands ; the multitude of converts gathered on the field would furnish instruments for further progress there. Zion had ‘ travailed ’ and ‘ brought forth children ’ ; let the infants shift for themselves and thrive as they might ; she has other offspring for whose birth to travail ! There was an unconscious cruelty in this kind of assumption. A Church which fails to rear her offspring hardly has the right to bear them ; the mother must become the nurse. Revivalism without after-care, in the way of oversight and sound instruction, means the making of backsliders. The sequel of the Tongan revival brought something of this reproach upon us ; it was owing to the great mercy of God, and to the immense toil of the handful of men upon whom the multiplied charge was thrown, that the fruit of the revival was not wasted and brought to nought. It is easy to see now that the Church which exulted in the mighty work of converting grace wrought in the Friendly Islands at this epoch failed to turn it to the best account.

When the Synod met at Nukualofa in January, 1835, full of ardour and thanksgiving, invitations and appeals poured in, not from the outlying Friendly Islands alone, but from

Samoa and Fiji besides. Fiji was already on the programme of the Missionary Society. All things seemed possible to men filled with the Spirit who had wrought through them in the recent months things so far beyond anticipation. Their people showed a delightful docility and zeal; they were intent on advance, and their eagerness to spread the Gospel evidenced the true grace of God working in them. British Methodism, the Synod felt sure, would send the assistance needed. They applied for six new Missionaries at once—the tidings of the great harvest in the South Seas must call forth labourers to aid the reaping. For themselves, they were ready to make any sacrifice, to face any danger, the furtherance of God's kingdom in the isles required. It was determined that two of their number should be detailed for Fiji, and one be given to Samoa.¹ Cross and Cargill volunteered for the former enterprise; Turner was chosen for the latter. These brethren were to be dispatched so soon as arrangements could be made; the Missionary Committee must be trusted to supply the vacancies created in Tonga. This was a sacrifice of half the strength of the Mission; three out of the seven upon the ground were to go—and these three picked and choice men. Cargill in particular, with his superior training and organizing powers, was indispensable to Tonga at a time like this. The step was taken in the purest spirit of self-sacrifice, under the conviction that God, who had wrought for His servants beyond all they had asked or thought, would supply the needs occasioned by obedience to His call; but we may question whether those who took it were not sacrificing vital interests of the Tongan Church. Its 8,000 souls, with the thousands more seeking the way to Christ, were left to the care of four Missionaries (the new men, when they came, for some time could be of little use), only two of whom were fairly seasoned, and versed in the Tonguese vernacular.² Fiji and Samoa, moreover, drew away the choicest of the Native teachers and evangelists. The latter

¹ Peter Turner is assigned to Fiji in the *Minutes* for 1835. The printed missionary Stations of this date are particularly misleading. Two names appear on the Friendly Islands list of men who never set foot in that District.

² Tucker writes at this date from Haabai: 'I am distressed at the thought of Brother Watkin's removal to Tonga (i.e. to Tonga-tabu); he is very conversant with the language, and his labours have been much blessed to the people; but I shall soon be alone here, with more than 3,500 members in Society, 161 Class-leaders, and upwards of 70 Local Preachers, under my care, with but a slight knowledge of the language!' And these were utter heathen but the other day, their mind and memory still steeped in vile and idolatrous ideas. Who can imagine such a pastorate without realizing its utter inadequacy?

sacrifice brought its reward, and would have been tolerable had the European staff in Tonga been raised to a strength proper for its task of leadership and teaching; but such was not the case. Fiji became the dominant interest of the Missionary Society in the South Seas; the new Mission grew at the expense of the older, when the Church should have found means for both. The action of the Synod in sending Peter Turner to Samoa proved to be of doubtful wisdom¹; and probably nothing would have been lost had the commencement of the Fijian undertaking been postponed until the work in Tonga was consolidated and the accessions of 1834 had been properly dealt with and digested. 'More haste is less speed.' John Thomas's caution and deliberate judgement seem on this occasion to have failed him. He himself now took the care of Vavau, where there was the largest number of new converts, while Watkin and Hobbs were put in charge of Tonga-tabu, and Tucker of the Haabai Circuit. Turner sailed to Samoa in March, Cross and Cargill for Fiji, at the end of the year; the intervening months they devoted mainly to the new language.

The history of the Haabai and Vavau Districts for some years to come was comparatively uneventful. In Tonga-tabu heathenism maintained a protracted struggle against the *lotu*. The larger part of this island, including the towns and dependencies of Mua, Hihifo,² Bea, and Houma, remained under the power of heathen chiefs, who were—at least the older of them³—leagued in defence of the ancient customs, and who proscribed Christianity within their borders. King Josiah Tubou was habitually tolerant, and allowed the sub-chiefs to dictate to their own people so long as they refrained from interference with those outside their jurisdiction; nor did he strictly repress acts of persecution going beyond this limit. A flagrant proceeding of the latter kind occurred in 1834, when the heathen were provoked by the lively zeal awakened in their Christian neighbours. Next year they were further angered by the opening of a new chapel at Beka, near

¹ This step was taken in anticipation of a sanction from home, which ultimately was refused; *Samoa* never appears on the official Stations of the Missionary Society. Evidently the Missionaries in the Friendly Islands were ignorant of any agreement made on their part to leave the Navigators' Islands to the L.M.S.

² At Hihifo, however, the new Ata (successor to the chief of Thomas's time), allowed the Christian exiles to return.

³ Even in the heathen districts many of the younger chiefs were inclined to the *lotu*; but the authority of their seniors and the power of the priests restrained them.

to Houma, which was attended with an unprecedented number of conversions, above all by the reconversion of a prominent chief of Houma, who had relapsed into idolatry. He was deposed as a traitor and driven from his estate. The Christians, taking alarm, fortified Nukualofa ; the missionary families and the printing-press were removed for safety to Vavau, James Watkin returning to face the danger alone. However, the king and the rebel chiefs met, and came to an agreement resulting in a temporary peace. Watkin's family returned from Vavau ; the Mission resumed its activities, and found new openings on the island ; a footing was secured for the Gospel at the fortress of Bea.

The heathen leaders felt their power slipping from them ; *force* seemed the only remedy against the foreign leaven spreading everywhere. They had little fear of Tubou, who had never been a fighter and was now enfeebled by age ; and they formed a wide conspiracy, determined by their combined strength to destroy the king and extirpate Christianity. Their plan was to make a sudden attack from all sides upon Nukualofa, to be delivered on Sunday, when the Christians would be at worship and off their guard. But the garrison was on the alert, and the assault failed. This took place early in 1837. Nukualofa was now invested, and its defenders were greatly outnumbered. The fall of the fortress seemed inevitable when King George of Haabai arrived with his fleet and landed troops which raised the siege and enabled Tubou's men to take the field. George was put in command of the Christian forces, to which his fame brought numerous accessions. His generalship reduced the enemy in two or three months to submission ; but many lives were lost in the conflict ; the fields were wasted and trees cut down by the enemy, and in several districts famine ensued. By the end of the year the disorder was over. The Tongan king was placable, and granted favourable terms to the insurgents, which led in some instances to their acceptance of the *lotu*. The young Ata of Hihifo opened his town to Christianity, and the vacant Mission house there was reinhabited, that able young Missionary, Stephen Rabone, newly come to Tonga, being its first occupant. At the heathen town of Bea a small chapel was built by a local chief. The churches closed during the war came into use again throughout the island. Despite all losses, the Tonga-tabu Circuits had

grown in strength and numbers ; now for the first time its Societies exceeded a thousand in their total membership.

On their submission to the two Christian kings in 1837 the rebel chiefs of Tonga-tabu promised religious liberty to their subjects ; these promises were broken as soon as made. At Hihifo and Bea the Christian minority were constantly harassed, and the Missionary at the former place was subjected to the old annoyances and obstructions ; in spite of all this converts steadily acceded. Amongst these was a notorious chief named Aho Mi, a violent enemy of the faith, whose conversion made a great stir in Tonga. The village of Foui, outside of Hihifo, built by Christian refugees in the former Ata's time, was now flourishing, and became a mark for heathen enmity. About this time the Gospel found its way to the important island of Eua and gained general acceptance ; a turbulent heathen leader of Eua, who found his usurped authority gone, emigrated to Hihifo with his followers. His coming aggravated the troubles in the latter place. King Tubou repeatedly visited Hihifo and Bea to repress heathen molestations of the *lotu* people ; again and again, after promises of amendment, the attacks were renewed. In 1839 Tubou all but fell a victim to a plot laid there against his life.

About the same time two deaths occurred which appeared greatly to weaken the Christian interest in Tonga-tabu. One was that of William Ulukai, closely related to King George and King Tubou's principal counsellor—a man of peculiar weight of authority throughout the islands ; the other was the case of Shadrach Vihala, heir-apparent to the chieftainship of Hihifo. This young man was the half-brother of the ruling Ata. Captain of the group of youths who attached themselves to Mr. Thomas in the early days at Hihifo, Vihala had borne without flinching the brunt of persecution there for ten years, and shared the exile of the little Christian company. His character was gentle and pure. A Tongan saint, Vihala served excellently as a Class-leader and Local Preacher ; great hopes were placed upon his future career. But disease fastened upon him. He went to Haabai, to be under the medical care of Richard B. Lyth, the young doctor-missionary fresh from England,¹ who did all that human skill could effect to save his life, but in vain.

¹ Lyth was allowed to give only two years of his probation to the Friendly Islands ;

In January, 1840, the war was reopened by a military attack of Ata and the Hihifoans upon Foui; a general rising of the heathen chiefs followed. As in the struggle of three years before, the old Tongan chief found himself unequal to the shock of war, and he appealed for help to his Christian kinsman, George of Haabai. The latter arrived just in time to save Foui from destruction. A meeting was arranged between Ata and the two Christian kings, which was made the occasion of a dastardly plot against King George's life. Siege was at once laid to Hihifo, a fortress deemed impregnable. In a fortnight, however, the garrison surrendered. The lives of the prisoners were spared, an act of mercy foreign to Native practice, which enhanced the victory; but the faithless Ata was deposed, and the idol-temples were destroyed. Hihifo from this time became a Christian town.¹ Matthew Wilson was sent to Hihifo at this time, and speedily gathered here a large Society. He and his wife were particularly successful in building up schools and winning the children and young people. Matthew Wilson laboured in the islands from 1836-1854, when he removed on his family's account to Australia; here he died twenty-two years later. A man of average talents, he had great qualities of heart, and was everywhere useful and beloved.

Bea and Houma continued their resistance, and, after a month or two's suspension, the civil war was resumed more fiercely than ever. An American Commodore, exploring in the neighbourhood, made an ill-managed attempt at mediation, of which he gave afterwards a report which was scarcely fair to the Christian party.² Nukualofa once more became the centre of attack. King George, who had at that moment but a small force within reach, was still engaged at Hihifo, and Tubou's town was in the utmost danger. A small British ship-of-war happened to arrive in the bay; Tucker (now Superintendent of the Tonga-tabu Circuit) and Rabone, who, with

his strength was devoted to Fiji. Fiji appropriated such men as Cargill and Lyth and Rabone, the flower of the missionary staff of Tonga—men whom the latter District could by no means afford to lose.

¹ The Mission house built by Thomas, and later tenanted by Rabone, was destroyed in this war. On the reoccupation of Hihifo new and improved Mission premises were built.

² *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-42* (Philadelphia), by Charles Wilkes. See Farmer's *Tonga*, pp. 318-321; also West's *Ten Years in South-central Polynesia*, p. 283.

their families, were shut up in the fortress after abandoning the Mission premises, sent a letter to the captain stating the situation and requesting his offices as mediator. The captain proceeded to the head quarters of the rebels at Bea, where he landed and entered into parley with their leaders, having already secured the adhesion of Tubou and George to the conditions he wished to propose. A favourable result seemed to be approaching when the negotiations were unaccountably broken off. Captain Croker, leading a handful of British seamen, rashly assaulted the stockade. The assailants were beaten off with the loss of their commander, a gallant and estimable man. This disaster happened on June 21. It involved the Missionaries, at whose instance Captain Croker had intervened, in grave reproach. The inquiry held by Governor Gipps, of New South Wales, exonerated them from blame. The ship-of-war carried them off, with their households, to Vavau. So soon as he had seen the Mission families placed in safety Tucker returned to the post of danger; Thomas, who knew the disturbed island well, came with him from Vavau. The insurgents were found in a chastened mood, realizing that they had come into conflict with the British Empire and confronted with King George's regathered forces. Thomas and Tucker were able to visit the enemy fortresses, and peace was restored once more.

The Mission resumed its work, and made gratifying progress in the western part of the island around Hihifo. At Bea, Mua, and Houma the ruling influences were adverse as before, though open violence was no longer attempted. For six months past school-teaching had been generally suspended in Tonga-tabu, and preaching and pastoral care interrupted in most of the villages; Church discipline and Christian morals suffered accordingly. Haabai and Vavau were affected unfavourably by the drafting of their men to military service in Tonga-tabu; the civil war operated in numberless ways to the detriment of religion. Poverty and want prevailed in the areas ravaged by the heathen, who systematically laid the country waste before them, and the population diminished. Hence through the early forties the Tongan Church was stationary in numbers; the losses of the older Circuits were compensated by accessions received from the islands newly evangelized, to which reference will be made immediately

But the most serious harm the civil war brought with it lay in its effect on the spirit of the people; a diversion from the higher aims of life, an exasperation of temper, an unsettlement of mind resulted, which lowered the tone of Tongan Methodism. The scantiness of the missionary staff made it less equal to the necessities of the anxious situation; the Church could not be sufficiently 'built up in its most holy faith.'

In January, 1841, John Waterhouse, the recently appointed General Superintendent of the South Sea Mission, made his visit to Tonga, landing first at Eua, where the Mission not long previously had secured a footing. A party of some twenty-five Tonga Methodists, including Local Preachers, were visiting Eua just then, having come over to strengthen the hands of the brethren in the smaller island. Mr. Waterhouse was agreeably surprised by the development of the Native Churches in the islands. King George, whom he met at Nukualofa and happened to hear in the pulpit, he describes with warm admiration as

combining the dignity of a king, the simplicity of a Christian, and the benignity of one called to preach the Gospel of the blessed God. . . . He is a tall, fine-looking, well-made man, with a remarkably penetrating eye and dignified carriage. . . . There are several English Ministers¹ whose skin is much darker than his.

It was rather a truce than a peace that now existed between King Tubou and the heathen chiefs at Tonga-tabu. The crafty Fatu of Mua, though he affected neutrality in the last war, had been at the bottom of the political intrigues of the heathen party for twenty years past²; to bind him over to peace was most important. Anxious to bring about a thorough settlement, Waterhouse determined to attempt this. Accompanied by Tucker, he called upon Fatu, who seemed much affected by his representations. Urged to go and seek the king's pardon, the old man put his arm round Mr. Waterhouse's neck and said:

You are now my son. I want peace, but I am ashamed and afraid to go to Tubou. If he will visit me with you I will humble myself.

¹ Waterhouse is speaking of the ministry at large, not of the Tongan staff.

² This 'Fatu' of Mua (so in Farmer and West) appears to be identical with the chief of the same town whom Walter Lawry calls 'Palau.' Lawry's vocalization of Tongan names is peculiar.

Tubou on his side was afraid of Fatu's malice. At last King George and the Christian chiefs persuaded him to accept the plotter's invitation. Tubou sat down in the enemy's house, with his missionary companions on either side. After a little while Fatu entered the room, sat down beside Tubou, and wept in silence. The two old men rubbed noses, and the personal quarrel was ended.¹ Though he could not quite banish his fear, King Tubou slept that night in Mua; in the morning the neighbouring chiefs assembled and gave in their formal submission, several of them kissing Tubou's feet. A similar reconciliation followed on Waterhouse's visit to Bea; he had indeed been a messenger of the gospel of peace.

Waterhouse visited the three island groups, and was enchanted with Neiafu and the Vavau harbour. He greatly 'joyed' in 'beholding the order' of the Tongan Societies and 'the solid foundation of their faith in Christ,' but he reported plainly upon the 'insufficient instruction,' both in 'general knowledge and sound theology,' manifest in the Native teachers. 'The people,' he also observed, 'had not made such progress in the useful arts as might have been expected'; their slackness in point of industry was a grave defect.

At the General Superintendent's suggestion the Synod of 1841 resolved to propose to the Missionary Committee the setting up of an institution for training Native agents, the maintenance of which, it was believed, could be locally provided. The proposal was taken up energetically by King George, and a building was quickly reared for the purpose. On July 13 of the same year the institution was opened at Neiafu (Vavau), with nine young men as pupils, under the direction of Francis Wilson. Mr. Wilson was a young Missionary recently arrived,² one of the early Hoxton students, a man of scholarly disposition and pedagogic aptitude. His

¹ Fatu died, as he had lived, halting 'between two opinions,' a master of tergiversation. During his long illness he tried all the heathen arts for averting death, and even allowed the priests to offer a human sacrifice for his recovery. These resources failing, he made a death-bed repentance by sending for the Missionary Thomas, and declaring himself a believer in Christ.

² Francis Wilson was one of the troop of young Missionaries who came out from England with John Waterhouse on the *Triton*. George Kevern was the other of this group assigned to Tonga—a man of similar qualities and worth to Wilson—who 'laboured with great zeal and success' in the islands until 1846, when loss of health enforced his retreat to England. In Tonga Kevern had conducted the Mission press; returning home, he superintended the printing of the Tongan New Testament, being an excellent vernacular scholar. In much physical weakness he exercised for many years thereafter a strong, winning, and spiritually fruitful pastorate at home. He died in 1875.

teaching, commenced while he was still a novice in the vernacular, under extreme difficulties for want of books and appliances, was pursued with the utmost diligence and with no little skill and resource. While conducting the seminary, he took an important part in the general work of the Mission. In 1845 his health succumbed under excessive toil, and he passed away—the first Missionary to die on the Tongan field. Francis Wilson's life and spirit were exemplary in the highest degree, and his brethren had learnt to rely upon his wisdom and calm judgement as well as his fidelity. After Wilson's death the institution was transferred to Tonga-tabu, where in course of time it developed into the Tubou College. It should have been earlier commenced and more strongly manned, and supported by efficient high schools planted in the three divisions of the country. Such measures, supplementing the system of elementary Mission schools, would have brought Christian training effectually to bear on the population, which was now placed substantially under the guidance of the Methodist Church.

About the end of 1841 Roman Catholic Missionaries appeared in the islands, sowing, as they were wont to do, new seeds of discontent and strife. Three years earlier King George had declined to receive, as being unrequired, the priest offered him by Bishop Pompallier of New Zealand. The same Bishop and priest now reappeared at Neiafu, under the protection of a French man-of-war. The local chiefs, accompanied by the Missionaries, met the Roman ecclesiastics; under the authority of the king they successfully opposed the priest's landing, showing that the religious wants of the people were already supplied. Repelled from Vavau, this Romanist expedition obtained a footing at Wallis' Island, which lies 200 miles northward, between Fiji and Samoa; a year or two later another priest established himself at Bea, in Tonga-tabu.¹ The last-mentioned intrusion led to much local trouble. The French Government in several parts of Oceania was using the Romanist propaganda for political ends; it was intimated

¹ 'Had Tubou possessed King George's courage and firmness, the evil might have been averted' (Farmer). An unscrupulous Popish propaganda soon spread through the Tongan villages. The first priest was invited, during Mr. Thomas's brief absence from the island, by a Bea chief, who had played fast and loose with Christianity. The priests made a number of converts in Bea and Mua, where they stimulated the insubordination against the Nukualofa Government, always simmering amongst the heathen. To this cause the renewal of the war was due.

that opposition to the priests would be taken as disrespect, or even hostility, to France. King Tubou was led by the threats directed against the Friendly Islanders on this account, in 1844, to address a letter to the Queen of England imploring her protection. His appeal was favourably received, and a circular was issued by Her Majesty's Consul-General for Polynesia assuring the Missionaries that 'Great Britain will protect her subjects in the Friendly and Fiji Islands.' This was the beginning of the political relations which drew these two groups into the orbit of the British Empire.

From the main islands the work of conversion spread early to the outlying parts of the Friendly archipelago. Eua has been already referred to in this connexion. There are a couple of islands not far from each other, and situated about three degrees north of Vavau, the eastern named Niua-tobatabu or Keppel's Island, the western, Niua-foou. The former—a fertile islet some six miles long—received news of the Gospel as early as 1829, through the visit of its chiefs to Tonga-tabu, where they paid tribute to the suzerain. A kind of chapel was built at that time to the Unknown God of the *lotu*-people, of whom the islanders craved the knowledge. Five years later the revival in Vavau led to the journeying of zealous converts to the eastern Niua, some of whom settled here as voluntary instructors. Peter Turner followed up their Mission by calling here on his way to Samoa in 1835. He remained several months in Niua-tobatabu, where he found a harvest ready to his hand. The whole community became Christian, headed by the King Gogo—a proselyte already—who was now savingly converted. Gogo was a man of ability, and proved a devoted Christian. A Methodist Society of 512 members was formed during Turner's sojourn, with 24 leaders and 45 school-teachers. Two chapels were built in the island.

King Gogo had previously attempted to visit the other Niua, taking a teacher from Vavau with him, to spread the news of the *lotu*; but a storm wrecked the expedition, in which the Vavauan was drowned and the king was driven home again. Undeterred by this failure, Gogo made a similar attempt, after the Missionary's departure, to evangelize Uvea (Wallis' Island). This was some years before the coming of the Romanists. Here he landed, bringing a large party, but only to be treacherously

murdered by the Uveans.¹ In Niua-tobatabu the word of the Lord had free course ; Maatu, the new chief, was obedient to the faith. The Society was cared for by a succession of worthy Native teachers from Vavau, visited as occasion allowed by the Vavau Ministers. No Tongan Church gave more satisfaction to its Ministers for a long course of years than did that formed in this tiny island.

In 1832 Christianity first touched Niua-foou, a larger island than the eastern Niua, but difficult of access because of the harbourless, rockbound nature of its coast. King Ulukulala of Vavau in that year happened to make a voyage, on business of his own, to Niua-tobatabu, in which he was accompanied by Cross the Vavau Missionary. The royal canoes were overtaken on their return voyage by a furious storm. One of them was sunk, while another, containing the Missionary and the king, was driven westward to Niua-foou. The savage islanders, who threatened destruction to the voyagers as they attempted a landing, were frightened by a volley of blank cartridge, and fell as suppliants at the feet of their intended victims. Friendly intercourse ensued, and hospitality on the part of the islanders, who received in exchange the tidings of the *lotu* and of the blessings it had brought to Vavau. The visitors talked and preached, sang and prayed, amongst their hosts ; and an impression was produced which resulted in Cross leaving a Vavauan Christian behind as teacher to the Niua-foouans, and in the eventual turning of the population to Christ. This island also was incorporated in the Circuit of Vavau. In 1853 Niua-foou was almost shattered by a terrific earthquake, and a volcano burst forth in its centre. Though much of the surface was wasted the island continued to be inhabited. It is a place of special interest to geological students.

After the failure of Gogo's Mission to Uvea from Niua-tobatabu attempts continued to be made to plant the Gospel there. The chiefs of Uvea had become politically independent, and their dialect differed considerably from the Tonguese. King George, however, sent a letter of recommendation and a present to Lavalua, the ruler of Uvea, introducing two Haabai teachers who had volunteered for the hazardous service. The emissaries

¹ It was supposed that the king of Uvea, a relation of Gogo, coveted the latter's wife, who had accompanied her husband. She escaped the ravisher, and was finally rescued after extraordinary adventures ; see West's *Ten Years*, pp. 220-221. On Uvea further.

were sent back, though with professions of great respect for their sender. Lavalua's brother Booi, however, and a circle of his friends had listened to the message the Tongans brought, and it fastened on their minds. This little company before long renounced idolatry; at first they were sheltered from persecution by Booi's influence. Their leader, in visiting Fiji shortly afterwards, met with Waterhouse, and begged from him a Missionary for Uvea. Alas, there was none to send.

It was about this time that the Roman priests, foiled in their attempts on the larger islands, secured a footing on Wallis' Island. They obtained influence with Lavalua and won over several of the leading chiefs, though they effected little with the general body of the heathen. From this time the little Methodist band found the hostility of their countrymen cruelly aggravated. A Tongan teacher named Jone Maké had been sent to their help; this man proved himself a hero in courage, and more than a match for the priests in argument on the Protestant faith. Exasperated by this opposition, the two priests had the beautiful Protestant chapel, which they called 'the house of the devil,' burnt to the ground; war was proclaimed against the heretics, Romanists and heathen being alike armed for their destruction. Under this pressure Booi and some of his associates for the time recanted, but Maké stood firm. To the king's messenger summoning him to yield he replied :

You go and tell them I shall not turn; and if it be the determination of the king, chiefs, and Roman priests that I should turn, here is my head! Cut it off, and take it to that religion! Would it, think you, be any good for me to turn and pray to a woman (the Virgin Mary), or to the devil-god whom you Uvea people worship?

The threat was not executed; and

the intrepid Maké continued to conduct Divine service and to preach to as many as would hear him, under cover of the darkness and in appointed spots among the dense woods of the island.

But before long Maké's life was forfeit. Maatu, the king of Niua-tobatabu and son of the Gogo who had been killed in Uvea, came to visit the distracted island. Being in alliance with Lavalua, he attempted to mediate, when a plot was laid

to take his life, of which the priests were believed to have a guilty knowledge. At the same time fresh assaults were made on the Protestants, who on Maatu's advice entrenched themselves. The war was renewed ; Booi, resuming his courage, went to the defence of his friends. In a chance skirmish Maké was caught and killed ; the heathen drank his blood.

For the Methodists of Uvea years of bitter wrong and suffering followed, in which the Roman priests continued to play a shameful part. That no Missionary found an opportunity to visit this lonely and hard-pressed outpost of our Church until 1848 was a deplorable consequence of the undermanned state of the Tongan Mission. The two Ministers in Vavau, Thomas West and William J. Davis, in that year took a voyage round the outlying northern islands. After their visitation of the two Niuas, where they found the Societies in good order and the work of God progressing, they made for Uvea. Here matters were in the saddest condition. The teacher who had succeeded Maké, Eliesa Lagi—a faithful, peaceable, and consistent man—bore traces of much suffering ; his people were emaciated and physically reduced, in consequence of the nine months' siege they had undergone, standing entirely on the defensive. For the present the war was stayed.

It did not appear that Booi and the Protestants had committed any political offence ; only they would not give up the *lotu none*, or true religion (as they called their Bible faith), for the *lotu bobu*, the Pope's religion. Booi and his decimated and harried people begged for an English Missionary to stand by them, but none was forthcoming ! Failing this, they asked to be taken off from the island ; the missionary ship, the *John Wesley*, had no room for them. They were left to their fate, with the promise that the Tongan Missionaries would consider their case in council, and would try to find a remedy. The appeal made to Lavalua on their behalf for religious liberty was in vain ; by the king's side, at his interview with the Missionaries, stood the priest, who listened to the plea for spiritual liberty with a sinister smile. A strange ending came to this distressing situation. Lavalua returned to the attack upon his brother, and the Protestant fortress was once more invested. The siege was in progress and famine was doing its deadly work when, eighteen months after the visit of West and Davis, the Missionary Webb arrived from Vavau. The

hard-pressed and indomitable people renewed their entreaties for conveyance to some spot where they might keep their faith and live. No transport was available. With difficulty Mr. Webb tore himself away, the beleaguered Methodists, in their anxiety to escape, all but taking forcible possession of the missionary ship, which would have held but a tithe of them. The failure of the Mission, year after year, to find protection or means of removal for this tormented flock is hard to understand.

A few months later than the above incident a couple of American vessels touched at Uvea. The young captain in command became friendly with the Protestant chief and married his daughter. This man claimed to have discovered Fanning Island, then unoccupied, on which he had raised the flag of the United States.¹ He planned to transport Booi and his followers thither, and to settle them in that distant home, offering to his father-in-law joint proprietorship with himself in the land to be colonized. Five hundred Uveans embarked on the two vessels.² The passengers sailed, however, no farther than Vavau, for on the ships touching at this island, after a baffling voyage of thirteen days, the whole body of them went ashore as though their voyage were ended; there they stayed. The captain insisted on their re-embarking for Fanning Island, in fulfilment of the contract made to this effect; the Uveans denied the existence of any promise or understanding of the kind on their part. No document was forthcoming in proof of the alleged covenant, and the Vavau authorities declined to interfere. What had actually passed between the Yankee captain and Booi it is impossible to say—whether the former had practised a ruse on the latter to secure cultivators for his desert island, or the latter on the former to secure a passage to Tonga for his distressed people. Such was the end, for the time at least, of Methodist doings and sufferings in Uvea.

Chief amongst the post-revival events of Haabai was the building of the new church at Lifuka in the following year. In style and dimensions this edifice was a cathedral for the

¹ This small and lonely island, which lies far to the north-east beyond the Equator, came afterwards into British occupation.

² The party included two hundred professed Romanists, who threw in their lot with the Methodists. There appears to have been much discontent with Lavalua's rule in the island, and resentment against the political interference of the priests. The secessionists after their arrival at Vavau abjured Romanism.

islands, being one hundred and ten feet in length by forty-five in breadth ; old spears and war-clubs, prized as royal heirlooms and exquisitely carved, contributed to make communion-rails and pulpit-supports. The entire Haabai people co-operated in the work of construction, and the opening of the sanctuary was a national festival. King George preached on the occasion from Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple. The presiding Missionary, Mr. Tucker, was able to announce that there was but one unbaptized adult now left amongst the inhabitants of the Haabai group. Mrs. Tucker, a clever and indefatigable teacher, rendered unique service in this wonderful time, when a whole people threw itself upon a couple of Missionaries for spiritual care. Not only did she teach and train the women-folk in all sorts of ways, but the Local Preachers insisted on her help in the making of their sermons, and she held a popular and successful class in homiletics. Mr. Tucker catechized his whole congregation each Sunday, and had a supplementary meeting of the kind on Monday evening, when he followed up the Sunday lesson. The old men and women sat down with the children to spell out the Bible stories. Books became the greatest treasure of the people, who took their little libraries with them on journeys and voyages. Nothing could be more delightful than the enthusiasm of the new-born soul of Tonga ; the pity was that so slight a supply of instructors was forthcoming amidst so great a demand. Within the next few years two successive hurricanes swept over Haabai ; famine and disease came in their train, chastening the people severely. The testing was well borne.

For Vavau, the promulgation of King George's code of 1839—the first extended written law possessed by the Tonguese¹—was the outstanding event of this period. A copy of this able document is found in the annual report of the Missionary Society for 1840.² Its promulgation signified the entering of the Friendly Islands into the circle of civilized nations. The

¹ This legislation had a precedent in the Tahitian code of 1819, drawn up by the Christian King Pomare, of the Society Islands, under the advice of Missionaries of the London Society ; see chaps. v. to vii. of Vol. III. in Ellis' *Polynesian Researches*. The political development of the Tahitians, which showed much promise, was roughly arrested through the seizure of these islands by the French Government in 1841 ; see the account of this *coup d'état* given in Pritchard's *Polynesian Reminiscences*, chaps. i. and ii. John Williams describes in chap. ix. of his *Missionary Enterprises* the institution of a similar legal code, including trial by jury, amongst the Native peoples of Raiatea and of Rarotonga.

² This document, in a later improved edition, is printed as an Appendix to Robert Young's *Southern World*.

influence of the king's missionary advisers may be traced in the construction and in some of the provisions of the code, but it was substantially his own creation ; it runs in Tongan style, and was well suited to the condition of the people, whose morals it served to guard and to shape.¹ At the same time the king appointed four chiefs as judges or magistrates, responsible for the administration of the laws, who were to hold session once a month. The arbitrary judicial power of the lesser chiefs and heads of clans was thus controlled, and finally abolished. In its spirit and the sanctions it invokes the statute-law of Tonga was as religious as the law of Moses.

The preamble of the original code ran thus :

I, George, make known this my mind to the chiefs of the different parts of Haafulahao, also to all my people. . . . It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you. He is King of kings and Lord of lords. . . . He is righteous in all His works. We are all the work of His hands, and the sheep of His pasture ; and His will towards us is that we should be happy. Therefore it is that I make known to you all, to the chiefs, and governors, and people, as well as to the different strangers and foreigners that live with me.

That the laws of our land prohibit, &c.

The terms of § xxxvi., as expressed in the later and more extended code, show the legislator's acquaintance with the prevailing faults of his people.

The law referring to men.—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to trade and contribute to the cause of God, and to the chief of the land. . . . Any man not willing to work, he shall neither be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

Nothing could afford a more satisfactory evidence of the firm rooting of Christianity in the islands, and of its blessings for the community, than the appearance of such a body of public law and the institution of an effective judicature to ensure its enforcement. 'The powers that be,' represented by King George Taufa-ahau, vindicated themselves as 'ordained of God' to guard and build up the fabric of society.

¹ The system inaugurated in Vavau was extended to all the islands. The king's power seems to have been more autocratic in Vavau than in his other dominions ; this would account for the first experiment in legislation being made there.

In Tonga-tabu much trouble yet remained after the above date both for Church and State, during the later forties and earlier fifties. King Josiah Tubou had seen what promised to be an end of the war against the Christians, which had raged intermittently from 1835-42 and filled his old age with disquiet. In 1845 he died in peace ; his last public act was to open a new Methodist church in the island of Eua, at last brought into a settled Christian condition, of which his grandson was now the principal chief. George of Haabai and Vavau was one of the two nearest in kindred who were nominated by Josiah to succeed himself. He was elected, almost by acclamation, 'Tubou Tui-kanokubolu,' and thus became reigning monarch of all Tonga. The electors were by this date all Christians ; but the heathen chiefs of Tonga-tabu, with slight exceptions, signified their assent, and took their place in the ceremony of enthronement, at which Mr. Thomas religiously officiated. The Missionary gave the new monarch a solemn public charge, based on the words of 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4, which set forth the Divine ideal of a godly king. Thomas had watched the last coronation in the island—that of King Josiah Tubou, who was raised to the throne by the enemies of Christ in order to draw him back to heathenism. To witness the contrast between this day and that was a great reward for the patient and humble missionary pioneer. From this time King George made Nukualofa his principal residence,¹ which was now the undisputed capital of the Friendly Islands.

Methodism in the islands at this date registered a Church membership of 6,600 or thereabouts. This was a decline of more than 1,000 from the high-water mark reached after the revival ten years earlier. The diminution took place in the Haabai and Vavau Circuits, where the accessions had been wholesale. Tonga-tabu recorded a gradual but continuous increase, while the Societies of the smaller islands outlying contributed several hundreds to the total. The heavy decrease in the central and northern groups was not due to any relapse of the people into heathenism, but to the reaction that followed the high-strung excitement of the movement of 1834. The

¹ George found his new subjects less respectful and tractable than the old—they had been accustomed to take liberties with his predecessor. Consequently, to mark his displeasure, he retired in 1847 to Haabai. So much sedition, however, arose in the southern island that he was compelled again to fix his abode there. But Lifuka was always more agreeable to His Majesty.

extent of this reaction must be attributed to the undermanned state of the Mission, which supplied shepherds far too few for the tending of so large and so wild a flock. A third cause of the reduced numbers is to be found in the dwindling of the population which contact with European life had already brought to a race whose physical constitution was for the first time exposed to a whole set of new maladies. This last melancholy factor in the progress of civilization continues to operate disastrously against Polynesian life¹; it makes the demand for the redeeming work of the Gospel and the Church painfully urgent. In this counter-agent, supported by science and eugenic care, is the one hope of saving the indigenous peoples of the tropical ocean, who are doomed otherwise to perish in competition with races of a hardier strain.

A second tide of religious revival, not so powerful as the former, but refreshing and deepening to the life of Methodism, passed over the islands in 1846, affecting all the Circuits. This visitation gladdened the dying eyes of Francis Wilson at Neiafu. Peter Turner, now labouring in Vavau again, describes a prominent feature of this awakening :

What a sight have I witnessed ! Old and young have come to make confession to the (civil) judges of misdemeanours of which they have been guilty for years back. As the greater part of those who came to confess have obtained mercy at the hands of God, the judges have given a general pardon. . . . At my request the people (in church) rose to sing a song of praise to Almighty God for the grace manifested to them from Himself, and for His having inclined their governors to imitate Him in His readiness to forgive all who humbly confess and freely forsake their sins.

A month later he adds :

The people are all engaged in prayer. . . . One of the judges said : ' These are fine times, for there are no offenders to be judged ! ' There has not been one for nearly two months.

Along with the general turning from crime and sin there was a happy restoration of backsliders in Vavau and elsewhere, and an earnest quest for holiness throughout the Church ; all the marks were present of a genuine Methodist revival. The moral

¹ *Measles*, for example, which we know in Europe as a comparatively trifling children's ailment, carried off in the epidemic of 1875 40,000 Fijians at a stroke !

level of the people's life got another uplift ; ' they were as much concerned about holy practice as about joyous feeling.' The membership returns reflect the improved state of the Societies. In 1848 the Church census rose once more to the figure of 7,500, the Tonga-tabu Church being now but little inferior in size to its companions in the other groups.

There was still a battle to fight with paganism in Tonga. With this in view, a young and ardent colonial Preacher named George Miller had been appointed shortly before Tubou's death as Missioner to the district round the heathen Mua. He had charge of a village Society of forty-two members at Makanga, three and a half miles distant from that stronghold, where the Tui-tonga, or ' sacred king ' of the island,¹ resided. At Mua Tungi now reigned, in succession to his father Fatu. Miller was on friendly terms with both these chiefs, who listened to his appeals politely and protected his Makanga flock, but would not let him preach within the town. Tungi's attitude was decisive for Mua and its dependencies ; repeatedly, when minor chiefs were inclined to *lotu*, they would say to the Missionary in excuse for their delay : ' I am waiting for Tungi.' The Papist priests working from Bea at the same time courted Mua, but to little purpose ; the people were shrewd enough to say of the religion they offered : ' It is just the old thing (i.e. heathenism) in a new garb !'

Tungi, like his father and like Ata of Hihifo, seemed likely to prove an incorrigible heathen. But in the year 1850 the change came ; yielding to the Holy Spirit's strivings, he cast away his idols and his sins in one day. The chief made public confession of penitence and faith in Christ, and one hundred and fifty of his people joined the *lotu* with him. A great congregation, gathered from all parts of Tonga-tabu, came to witness Tungi's surrender to Jesus Christ. As he entered the church and fell upon his knees before the assembly, and his followers with him, sobs and cries of joy, unrestrainable, rose from the people. The stoutest barrier in the way of the Gospel remaining in Tonga had now fallen. A collection was made of the discarded gods, which were gathered in a Tongan basket and handed over, with a fine sense of dramatic fitness,

¹ Tonga-tabu had a double king—the Tui-kanokubolu, who wielded civil and military power, and the Tui-tonga, representing an older dynasty, who presided over the sacred rites and was the highest representative of the old national religion. The two families were connected by intermarriage.

to Superintendent Lawry, the original Missionary to Mua, who was visiting the island at this time.

Walter Lawry landed from the *John Wesley* on June 12, 1848. He brought with him the largest Methodist company—of three Missionaries and their wives—ever sent to the Friendly Islands at one time, a reinforcement long overdue. Francis Wilson had died ; George Kevern was driven home by sickness. These were replaced by George Daniel, William J. Davis, and Richard Amos, the two former being put for the time in charge of the printing-press, the latter of the Native Institute, now to be removed from Vavau to Tonga-tabu. After the capitulation of Mua to Christ Daniel was stationed in that important town. Along with these came Thomas Adams, who was destined to have a long and honourable career in Tonga and succeeded to much of Thomas's influence. Amos was an accomplished teacher, of modern training ; he introduced professional method and system into the education of the islands. At first the Natives were doubtful of the new way, but before long the Amos training became very popular. The Tonga schools were counted models for Polynesia.

On returning to Haabai in 1847 King George, in the spirit of reconciliation, appointed Maafu¹ and Lavaka, heathen chiefs of Bea, joint-governors of Tonga-tabu in his name, at the same time taking a pledge of peace-keeping from all the principal men of the island. This well-meant policy appears to have been read as a sign of weakness. The two administrators plotted against their sovereign, and encouraged disaffection. The Bea and Houma folk were allowed to restore their fortifications, and to plunder and harass their Christian neighbours. Threatenings of revolution became rife. The Roman priests at Bea played a characteristic part in the agitation, hinting the probable interference of French forces in the interest of the rebels,² and helping them to obtain munitions.

¹ This Maafu was not the Tongan chief of that name who figures later in Fijian affairs. Seemann, in his valuable record entitled *A Mission to Fiji* (1862), has mistakenly identified the two, and drawn from the identification erroneous inferences damaging to King George of Tonga ; see the work above-named, pp. 242 ff. The author combines science and politics in a lively and interesting way ; but his observations under the latter head are not always as careful and trustworthy as under the former. See also, on these matters, West's *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp. 394-397.

² King George, who knew how violently the French Government had acted in Tahiti, was greatly disturbed by the rumours of interference from that quarter ; so much so, that he sent a letter by Mr. Lawry to Governor Grey, of New Zealand, proposing to place himself and his subjects under the rule of the British Crown.

Alarmed at the progress of disaffection, King George returned to Nukualofa in the middle of the year 1851; his coming drove his opposers to open revolt. Culprits fleeing the royal officers were sheltered by the heathen chiefs; their surrender was demanded, and in some instances refused. The king remonstrated and forbore to strike, while the Missionaries held back the injured Christians from retaliation; they visited the rebel leaders, and strongly warned and expostulated with them. But the latter grew more sullen and defiant; sounding the war-drum they made preparations to attack Nukualofa. George delayed to the last moment the levying of his forces, though he ran the risk of seeing his people massacred. This condition of suspense lasted until March, 1852. The superintendent Minister of Nukualofa at this anxious season was William Webb, one of the heroes of the Friendly Islands Mission, who is commemorated in the *Minutes of Conference* as 'an energetic, faithful, and devoted Missionary of the Cross.' His career dated, with that of Francis Wilson and George Kevern, from 1839; like these, too, he was an old Hoxton student. For several years Webb occupied the lonely island station of Tugua, in the Haabai Circuit.¹ Overborne by the stress of this crisis, he succumbed to an attack of fever and died suddenly, leaving his colleagues and people in the deepest sorrow.

Christians now began to be waylaid and killed by murderous bands of the heathen, amongst them a good woman who had gone on foot from Hihifo to Nukualofa to assist Mrs. Webb during the illness of her husband. She was cut down by an axe on the roadside as she returned home—a murder shocking even to the heathen conscience. The conversion of Tungi of Mua, which took place in 1850, was followed by another event of the same kind, which enraged the heathen party. Hafoka of Houma was known as a hater of the *lotu*; but, as he relates, a voice came to him, 'speaking day and night,' which said 'Hafoka, rise and leave this place, and go to the Christians'; and he obeyed. Secretly he resorted to a village chief and Christian teacher of the name of Moala, a distant relative of his own, whom West describes as 'one of the choicest converts in the whole of Tonga.' With Moala he lived for some time, seeking guidance in the new way. At length his duty was

¹ Here he and Thomas West had a narrow escape from drowning in 1847, which the latter graphically describes in his *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp. 64-68

clear, and he confessed Christ before the church in Moala's village. Addressing the Missionary, Hafoka said :

I have been a wicked man, a persecutor. But now I have bowed the knee to Jehovah. . . . I had many friends in Houma. My wife and children, lands and property, are there ; but I have forsaken all that I might come and worship God here. . . . I cannot return to heathenism ; and if my wife and children will not come to me here, I am even content to lose all for the sake of Jesus Christ.

The Houma chiefs invited him to return home. He professed his loyalty, but declared he could not come back without permission to practise his religion freely. Upon this Vaea, the ruling chief of Houma, sent an armed party to seize Hafoka, who escaped their hands. His rank and property were confiscated. Being on a visit to Hihifo (now Christian) about this time, King George interposed in Hafoka's case, and granted him land at Fatai, not far from Houma, where the exile's family and friends gathered round him and a considerable village sprang up.¹ Fatai became, in fact, a Methodist settlement, to which a stream of converts was drawn from Houma. The old Houman chief Vaea, who had of late years exerted a moderating influence, fell mortally sick. Though visited by the Missionary shortly before his decease, he died, as he had lived, a heathen, but with his dying breath urged those about him to accept the *lotu*, or at least to live at peace with the Christians. His successor spurned this advice, and precipitated the conflict with King George. All this had come about before Mr. Webb's death.

The Mission in Tonga-tabu, which had now reached its highest point of slowly won success, suffered grievously from the political disturbance ; scarcely anywhere outside Nukualofa and Hihifo were the lives of Christians safe on the island. With the beginning of April the king mustered his forces. Unless he wished to see the Christian people of the island butchered there was no other way ; forbearance had been strained to its utmost limit. After driving the enemy from the open with considerable loss on both sides, in order to avoid further bloodshed the king resolved to reduce Houma and Bea by siege, although his troops were prepared for an overwhelming assault.

¹ This convert's story is briefly and well told in *Hafoka : A Missionary Tale of the South Sea Islands* (Mason, 1860).

Houma was the first of the heathen forts to succumb, surrendering early in July. The king granted an amnesty, partly on Hafoka's intercession; the conquered expected a massacre, such as would have infallibly ensued had victory fallen to their side; only the leading rebel chiefs were deposed. Neither executions nor confiscation of property took place. This undeserved clemency won the heart of the Houmans to the *lotu*; one hundred of the townsmen publicly renounced idolatry at the act of Christian worship following the entrance of the victorious army.

The investment of Bea was now pressed with redoubled vigour. In this place the rebels were buoyed up with the hope of foreign aid, and so held out the longer. Early in the war a Roman priest of Bea sailed for Tahiti, with the declared intention of bringing a French man-of-war to the help of the insurgents. On August 8 a warship was sighted, of uncertain nationality; the king's troops had orders to storm Bea instantly if she proved to be French. It was Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Calliope*, which speedily drew up to the town. The commander, after making inquiries from both sides, proposed a peace based on the terms granted to Houma, to which stipulations were added for the demolition of the fortification of both towns. Seeing their position hopeless, the enemy promised submission; but while conditions were being arranged a division of the besiegers, finding the defence slack, had pierced the stockade and made their way into the town. Its sack was prevented with the utmost difficulty, for the royal troops had been exasperated by the behaviour of the enemy, and a number of them were heathen, who counted on the customary rewards of victory. There was some destruction of property, but no loss of life, in the capture of Bea.

Thus the last stronghold of heathenism in Tonga fell; the succession of conflicts which thus eventuated had been absolutely forced upon the Christian king; it befell the heathen party according to the word of Christ, that 'they who take the sword shall perish by the sword.' From this date idolatry, as a public institution, has ceased to exist in the Friendly Islands. The chiefs of Bea, like those of Houma, bowed to Jehovah, finding His servants merciful, and believing that the Heavenly Father would 'forgive their trespasses,' since His children had proved themselves forgiving toward those

who had inflicted on them the most grievous wrongs. The Romish priests alone, who had been abettors of the rebellion from the beginning, hating Methodism more than heathenism, and unable to brook the existence of a Protestant Native Government, refused to be pacified.

A French warship at last arrived, in November, 1852, with the priest on board who had gone to Tahiti to lodge his complaints. The commander, Captain Belland, brought instructions from the Tahiti Governor to inquire into the late proceedings in Tonga. King George and Mr. West, the Methodist Missionary, appeared before him. He was an upright and discerning man, and soon found out where the truth lay. The mischief-making priest was deported; and the captain gave warning that the same, or severer, punishment would be dealt by the French Government to any offender, 'whether priest or layman,' who should act as M. Calignon had done. King George's bearing and conduct throughout the inquiry raised a great admiration in the honourable French sailor's mind.

I have seen and conversed with many chiefs in the South Sea Islands [he said], but I have never met his equal.¹

Popery was now at a heavy discount in Bea, its centre for so long; 'the word of the Lord had free course and was glorified' from end to end of Tonga-tabu, as in the rest of the Friendly Islands. By the year 1853 this Circuit exceeded the other two in the number of its constituency, counting above two thousand Church members in its Societies. Hihifo, Mua, Houma, and Bea had successively, through peace or war, followed the example of Nukualofa, and yielded themselves to the dominion of Christ.

John Thomas saw the evangelization of the Friendly Islands completed within his ministry of thirty-three years. His strength, never robust, failed toward the end of the forties; his wife's health, too, was broken. They left the islands early

¹ Du Bouzet, the Governor of Tahiti, appears to have regarded Belland's settlement as too favourable to the Tongan authorities. In January, 1855, he visited King George himself, with a couple of war-vessels, bringing back the deported priest Calignon, when he insisted on the drawing up of a Convention between France and Tonga. In this treaty it was laid down, amongst other more agreeable stipulations, that 'the Catholics' should be 'free in all the islands' under Tubou's jurisdiction—an agreement which the Roman priests would have used to cover their old political machinations. The people, however, were now proof against their insidious arts, and their religious proselytism made a comparatively slight impression.

in 1850, and reached England a year later. Here, however, Thomas would not rest; his home, he said, was in Tonga. There, also, was the grave of his only child, a boy of eight years old, who died at Nukualofa in 1843. With vigour somewhat restored, this devoted couple returned to the islands in 1856, and resumed their labours. But growing infirmities compelled them finally to desist, and toward the end of the year 1859 they took their last farewell of their beloved Tongans. Thomas Adams succeeded to the vacated Chair of the District. Thomas was spared to see his eighty-fifth year, and enjoyed comparatively good health in the last stage of his toilsome life, passing away in great peace on January 29, 1881. Some time before this Tongan Methodism celebrated the Jubilee of its origin, when the old Missionary's children sent him a grateful and liberal gift in money, which cheered his heart and eased the closing steps of his long pilgrimage.

After the quelling of the last rebellion, King George paid a visit to Sydney in the year 1853; he sailed on board the missionary ship, the *John Wesley*, and looked in upon Thakombau of Fiji by the way. His intercession with the great Fijian chief, and the subsequent letter which George wrote to him from Tonga, helped to decide Thakombau's long-delayed profession of Christianity. It was two years after this that the Tongan king paid to the Fijians the state visit so important in its results for Fiji.

These voyages completed, and foreign affairs settled to his mind, the king devoted himself to internal reforms. He had much trouble in getting the elder chiefs to submit to the curtailment of their traditional prerogatives; but at length, in 1862, he was able to promulgate an enlarged and improved edition of the Vavauan code of twenty-three years before, which was now extended to the whole of the islands. Constitutional liberty, and government by fixed law and judicial system, were thus conferred on the people. The Tongan code, which is found printed at length in the supplement to the Wesleyan Missionary Report for 1863, is a remarkable specimen of modern legislation, and furnishes a rare example of the systematic attempt to apply Christianity to the framing of a people's laws. Its creation gives proof of no small political capacity in King George and the little Tongan nation.

With this signal event our story of the Tongan Mission and

the establishment of Christianity in the Friendly Islands must close. In 1854 Methodist Missions in the South Seas were taken over by the newly constituted Australasian Conference, and became a part of Affiliated Colonial Methodism. The subsequent course of events in the Friendly Islands—including the work of Tongan Missionaries in Fiji and other parts of Polynesia, the later years of King George's protracted reign, the progress of Tongan civilization, the strange career of the Missionary Shirley W. Baker, the setting up of the Tongan 'Free Church,' the establishment of the British Protectorate—belongs to the history of the daughter Church.

IV

TWO SOCIETIES IN SAMOA

Samoans—The first Christian—The *Lotu* Tonga—L.M.S. Visitors—Tahitian Teachers—Turner in Samoa—A Compact between the Societies—Dismay of the Samoans—An impartial Judgement—Intervention of King George—Action of the Australian Conference.

SAMOA is the Native name, now universally adopted, for the cluster formerly designated the Navigators' Islands. This Polynesian group holds a central position 250 miles distant from Tonga north by east, and 7° nearer the Equator. Few in number, the Samoan Islands greatly exceed the Tongan in size; Savaii, the largest of them, covers twice the area of all the Friendly Islands put together. Their comparatively mountainous surface renders them, however, less densely habitable. At the present date the population is under 40,000; formerly it must have been above this mark. The eight north-western islands of the group, including the two largest, were assigned by the convention of 1900 to Germany¹; the remaining six, lying to the south-east, which furnish the one first-rate harbour of Samoa, are in the possession of the United States. Previously to this partition the islanders were under a triple Protectorate, in which Great Britain shared with the two countries named; but this arrangement was abandoned as unworkable.

The quarrelsomeness and tribal factions of the Samoans, breeding misgovernment and disturbance of trade, early brought about foreign interference. Their chiefs exercised a local authority resembling that of their class in Tonga; but they lacked corporate feeling and solidarity; no single royal clan existed here such as that which united the sister islands. As sailors and traders the Samoans are surpassed by their

¹ German Samoa was one of the first enemy colonies to be taken over by Great Britain in the present war (1916), being seized within a few weeks of its commencement by a New Zealand expeditionary force. It is right to say that the German Government here behaved well to the English Missionaries and encouraged their work, which continued uninterrupted by the outbreak of the war.

southern neighbours. They are near akin to the Tongans in race, representing probably the primitive stock from which the latter nation, along with the Maoris and other Polynesian tribes, derived their blood. The similar appearance, disposition, and speech of the two peoples bespeak their common origin; this close kinship has an important bearing on the story of the present chapter. The language of these islands is musical, and rich for an uncivilized people; it has been styled 'the Italian of the Pacific.' Samoan is at once the most archaic and the most finished of the Polynesian tongues.¹ In manners, however, and in social cultivation, they were distinctly superior. Dr. George Brown, who lived in the islands for many years, describes them as 'the politest people in the world'; elsewhere he speaks of his Samoan friends as 'amongst the nicest and most lovable people I have ever known.' Robert Louis Stevenson bore a similar affection for the islanders amongst whom he spent his last days; his love for them was fully reciprocated.

They are easy [he says], merry, and pleasure-loving; the gayest, though far from being the most capable or the most beautiful, of Polynesians. Fine dress is a passion with them; song is almost ceaseless.²

The writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* sums up the Samoan character as that of a people 'simple, honourable, generous, and hospitable, but brave fighters—the most perfect type of Polynesians.' It is scarcely to be wondered that two Missionary Societies set their affections on a race of such attractive qualities, and that some rivalry arose in the work of winning them for Christ.

In virtue of their ties of blood and their geographical proximity, intercourse between the Tongans and Samoans had been customary from time immemorial. Links of intermarriage were numerous, and Tongan traders and colonists settled freely in Samoa. This communication, as in the case of Fiji, supplied a ready channel for the transmission of the Gospel. The first Samoan Christian was a native of Savaii,

¹ Martin Dyson, who found Samoan volubility trying, stigmatizes them as 'the most loquacious of Polynesians.'

² *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa*. This sympathetic and charmingly written account of Samoan affairs in the eighties reveals much of the inwardness of Polynesian life.

converted at Nukualofa on a visit there in 1828. Returning home, this man (Savaia) became a Missionary to his neighbours ; through his testimony, seconded by that of several Tongan Methodists who came to Samoa about the same time, the knowledge of the *lotu* soon spread over a considerable area, and it became a subject of general inquiry.

The Tongan Missionaries were quickly informed of these occurrences. In Nathaniel Turner's report to the Missionary Committee dated June, 1829, he couples the Navigators' Islands and Fiji together as fields approachable from Tonga, and as hopeful spheres for future labour. Three years later the Tonga Synod 'recommends to the Committee the Navigators' Islands as 'a 'delightful opening for the establishment of a new mission,' quoting a petition received from a Samoan chief to that effect. So assured were the Wesleyan Missionaries in 1832 of the imminence of this step—the obvious consequence of their success in the sister islands—that they had 'already begun to prepare a book of instructions' for the guidance of the men to be sent to the new field. The Samoan chief Tui, who conveyed the petition above referred to, went home bearing the promise that the desired boon would be granted ere long ; in anticipation of the Missionary's coming he advertised the *lotu* to the best of his power, doing this so effectively that

in three years from the time of Tui's return from Tonga there were forty villages and hamlets in Savaii, and twenty-five in Upolu (the second largest island), that had turned from the worship of *aitu* (idols) to worship the living God.¹

Christianity, for the Samoans, was associated in the first instance entirely with the Friendly Islands, and went by the name of the '*lotu* Tonga.' When Peter Turner landed on Samoan soil in 1835 he found 2,000 Natives already professing this *lotu*, and as many more came over to it, casting away their idols, in the course of his first journey round the islands.

A great and effectual door stood open to the Methodist Mission in the Navigators' Islands. At the time of the opening of that door neither the Missionaries in the Friendly Islands nor the Missionary Committee in England apprehended any

¹ See *My Story of Samoan Methodism* (1875), by Martin Dyson. Mr. Dyson was the first Missionary sent by the Australasian Conference in 1857 to take charge of the then derelict Methodist community. He writes in a judicial spirit, and records his facts with evident care and accuracy.

bar against their entrance. The way was prepared of the Lord ; nothing could well be clearer than the leadings of Divine providence in this direction. The *lotu* Tonga in Samoa was a child of the Friendly Islands Mission, and had every right to look for its guidance and support. Two thousand Methodist converts were crying out for the Methodist ministry ; if their faith was crude and their Christian practice rudimentary, and if their motives were greatly mixed, the infantile condition of these her spiritual children appealed all the more strongly to the compassion of the mother Church. Everything pointed to the extension of the Tongan missionary field to Samoa with the least possible delay, and the Missionary Committee, in its reply to the report of the Tongan Synod on the subject, directed its agents to go forward.¹ The Synod counted, therefore, on the Committee's approval when it sent Peter Turner to Samoa in 1835. The welcome this man of God received, and the instant and wonderful success of his first preaching on the new field, gave the highest encouragement to the undertaking. 'The Lord' was 'working with' His servants and 'confirmed the word by signs following.'

The happy prospect was suddenly overcast in a most untoward fashion. We related in chapter ii. above the pleasant visit paid by Messrs. Williams and Barff, of the London Mission, to Tonga-tabu in the year 1830, and noted the agreement the former of these Missionaries believed to have been made on that occasion between himself and Nathaniel Turner, to the effect that Fiji, with the whole of the Friendly Islands, should be regarded as the province of the Wesleyan Society, while the Navigators' Islands were reserved for the London Mission. Turner, who was then at the head of Methodist affairs in Tonga, always denied having entered into the alleged compact ; no such suggestion, he declared, was present to his mind in his conversation with Mr. Williams. The subsequent action of Turner's colleagues in the Tonga District shows that they were unaware of any understanding of the nature supposed. Before the appearance of Williams and Barff in this part of the Pacific, the Wesleyan Missionaries were already in touch with Samoa through members of their Tongan flocks,

¹ See the *Annual Report* of the W.M.M.S. for 1833, p. 43 : 'The brethren of the District will adopt the best measures their circumstances will allow for improving the favourable opportunity which is presented for introducing Christianity into the Navigators' Islands.'

and were looking forward to entrance on that field. They commended the designs of their brethren for the benefit of the Samoans, never dreaming that by this approval they excluded themselves from activity in the same direction—that they would be bound henceforth to prevent Tongan Methodism from sending its branches over the wall into Samoa.

However, the two explorers of the London Mission sailed on to Samoa with the intention of planting the Gospel there, and apparently presuming themselves the first heralds of the Gospel in that region. Here lay the mark of the whole voyage, for which great preparations and sacrifices had been made.

My mind [Williams writes] had for some time been contemplating the extension of our labours to the Navigators' Islands and the New Hebrides ; and as far back as 1824 I wrote to the Directors of the Missionary Society upon the subject.¹

It was difficult for a man of comprehensive plans and determined purpose, like John Williams, to realize the fact that he had been anticipated in his cherished project by the force of circumstances, and to recognize that the surrender of the Friendly Islands to the companion Mission would naturally involve the handing over of the Navigators' Group besides. The eagerness with which this great Missionary's heart had been bent upon Samoa accounts for his misinterpretation of the words exchanged with Turner on the subject, and for his disregard of the ties linking the Navigators to the Friendly Islanders, in virtue of which Christianity already bore amongst the former people the name of ' the *lotu* Tonga.'

Williams and Barff found residing in Tonga-tabu a Samoan chief named Fauea, wishful to return to his native land, who, though not a convert, was well disposed to the new religion, and proposed to accompany the travellers and introduce them to his friends. Under Fauea's guidance they landed at Sapapalii, in Savaii, the town of Malietoa, a dominant chieftain of the island,² to whom their conductor was related. Malietoa

¹ See Williams' *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 142 ff. and 570 ff. The *Navigators' Islands* occupy a large part of this famous missionary volume.

² *Malietoa* was an hereditary title, borne by the head of a family which claimed extensive, if not exclusive, suzerainty in the Samoan group. The civil war of fifty years later, described by R. L. Stevenson in his *Footnote to History*, turned on the rights of the Malietoa of that period. There were, Stevenson says, ' two royal lines,' with ' some cloudy idea of alternation between the two.' But, as he shows, when the claims of the rival houses were adjusted and the rightful sovereign installed, his power was limited and ineffective ; see chap. i. of the *Footnote*. Like other Samoan dissensions, the divisions arising between the Churches appeared to have followed largely the cleavage between the royal factions which dominated the island politics.

had heard favourably of the *lotu*, but had not hitherto come into contact with it. He proved friendly and hospitable, and pledged himself to 'become a worshipper of Jehovah' on the conclusion of the war in which he was then engaged. So satisfied were the Missionaries with the assurances they received from Malietoa that they left in his country, under his protection, eight of the Tahitian teachers who accompanied them—six for Savaii and two for Upolu—with good hopes of a favourable hearing from the people, so soon as they had mastered the new dialect.¹ During their short sojourn in the islands the two pioneers did not encounter any of the little company already professing the *lotu* Tonga, who lived outside of Malietoa's district. But the welcome accorded to them, and the facility with which their purpose was effected, were manifestly due to the reports of Fauea and others about the acceptance of the new religion in the Friendly Islands, and to the impression the *lotu* Tonga had already made on the Samoan mind.

The Tahitian teachers were diligent and zealous, and endeavoured to push their work beyond the bounds of Malietoa's territory. Their patron objected to this. 'My foreigners,' he said, 'are not to be scattered among other tribes.' The Methodist chief Tui had invited them to his town, Satupaitea, an important centre in Savaii; had the Tahitians come in answer to this invitation and commended themselves at Satupaitea, it is likely enough that in default of help from Tonga Tui's people would have accepted their ministrations. In that case the incipient *lotu* Tonga might have merged itself peacefully in the *lotu* Tahiti, and competition would have been obviated. But this was not to be.

The Satupaiteans were affronted by Malietoa's prohibition, to which the teachers from Tahiti submitted; they vowed to have no further dealings with the London Mission. From this little rift—the outcome, in the first instance, of chiefly jealousy, associated with dislike of the 'foreign' Tahitian

¹ See the work above cited, chap. xix. While the three languages belong to the same general Polynesian stock, the Samoan and Tahitian are much more remote than the Samoan and Tonguese. A man of the latter speech can readily make himself understood amongst the Samoans. This approximation in language gave a great advantage to Missionaries coming from Tonga, and contained in itself a strong reason for associating the Navigators' Islands, for missionary purposes, with Tonga rather than Tahiti.

influence—sprang the divergence which widened into an impassable gulf. It was after the rebuff from Sapapalii that Tui sailed to Nukualofa with the petition for a Methodist Missionary. The request came from a tribe which the London Society's agents had declined to visit, and which had received the Gospel already through Methodist channels. Unfortunately our Mission in Tonga had no member of its staff available for Satupaitea just then; nor was there any qualified Tongan evangelist to spare. For three years Tui and his band of Tongan-Samoan Methodists were left to their unaided resources. Shortly after this episode an influential chief of Upolu, named Tuioneula, publicly adopted the *lotu* Tonga and associated himself with Tui, of Satupaitea. Satapuala, Tuioneula's town, became a second centre of Methodism; hundreds of Upolu Natives renounced heathenism under Tuioneula's leadership. He, too, was an opponent of Malietoa, and the two *lotus* became further involved in the tribal feuds of the islands. 'Christ was preached' in Savaii and Upolu in some degree, it must be confessed, 'out of faction.' The result was, writes Dyson, that 'the twin sects grew up together without either mutual support or countenance.'

At this stage the Methodist plant, though a wildling shoot left untended, was decidedly the more flourishing of the two.

During the first six years of its existence in Samoa (1829-35) [says Dyson] Methodism, without guide, overseer, or ruler, had penetrated into one-fifth of the villages and hamlets of the whole group. The movement, half sustained and independent of foreign aid, had begun and continued outside of the London Society's influence, and widely separated from its people. It had grown into a Mission the like of which in other places many years of toil and expense had failed to accomplish. Churches had been built, and congregations were collected; and, if it had been possible, the poor heathen in this instance would have given a practical answer to the Apostle's question, 'How, then, shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? . . . and how shall they hear without a Preacher?' If ever the Lord set before the Methodist people an open door which no man should have shut, surely this was one.¹

John Williams visited the Navigators' Islands again in 1832; a third visit was made on behalf of the London Society in 1834,

¹ *My Story*, pp. 14, 15.

before the settlement of European Missionaries in the islands. On each of these occasions the visitors appear to have concerned themselves with the constituency of the *lotu* Tahiti alone, regarding the *lotu* Tonga as outside their province.¹

The Tongan Wesleyan leaders had as imperative a call to go over and help their needy people in Samoa as could well come to any body of Christian Ministers. The misfortune was that they were not in a position to respond to it sooner. They made a great sacrifice—too great for the interests of their work in Tonga—when in the beginning of the year 1835 they set Peter Turner free for the field ‘white unto harvest.’ The appointment was made in anticipation of the sanction of the Home Committee, which had three years ago directed the Tonga Synod to extend its care to the Navigators’ Islands. The Synod was unaware that any change of policy had taken place in London. It had not outrun its instructions, but had regrettably delayed their execution.

Turner was charged to avoid trenching on ground occupied by the sister Mission, to organize the Societies already bearing the Methodist name, and to make these the basis of evangelistic work amongst the heathen. He and his wife landed on the island of Manono (lying between Savaii and Upolu) on June 18, 1835. He came fresh from the glorious experiences of the Tongan revival of the previous year, and had spent several months on the way at Niua-tabu, witnessing scenes of similar enthusiasm there. ‘Full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,’ and speaking freely in a language (the Tonguese) familiar to many of the Samoan folk and in some measure intelligible to them all, this ardent Missionary was able to respond at once to the longing of the people to hear the good Word of God. A few weeks were occupied in Manono, where the Turners lived on the kindest terms with the resident Tahitian teacher Teava. Here the Missionary was visited, and recognized as their Superintendent, by the chiefs and office-bearers of the *lotu* Tonga from all quarters. He was overwhelmed with

¹ Williams devotes five most interesting chapters of his *Missionary Enterprises* (xxiv.–xxviii.) to the second visitation of the Navigators’ Islands; throughout these ninety pages he makes not the slightest reference to the presence of any other body of Christians in Samoa but his own, although adherents of the *lotu* Tonga at that date must have been considerable in number and influence, and he cannot have been unaware of their existence, nor of the communications between them and his Tahitian agents.

applications for the five Tongan teachers who were his companions.¹ Three of these he left in Manono.

Mr. and Mrs. Turner now removed to Satupaitea, where a house was built for them; this became the Methodist head quarters. Two-thirds of the Satupaitean people, who numbered a thousand or more, were declared Wesleyans. They received their Minister with embarrassing heartiness; Tui was 'wild with joy.' The Missionary's aspect and spirit commended his message; he spoke at once to the hearts of the people. This was the very man Samoa had been looking for. All doors were thrown open to him. Never had a Missionary a more triumphal progress than Peter Turner on his tour through the islands, commenced four months after his arrival. The power of God rested mightily upon him. Within twenty months the 2,000 converts he found awaiting him had multiplied to 13,000!

Eighty churches were built in as many villages. Four thousand persons were distributed into above 300 Classes; and 1,000 teachers, themselves newly taught to read, were busy as bees in the midst of 6,000 scholars (Dyson).

Though this campaign necessarily lacked the deeper elements and more poignant manifestations of the long-prepared Tongan revival, much of the experience of 1834 in the sister-islands was repeated here; the impulse of Turner's coming, and the peculiar power of his preaching, had started a mass-movement toward Christianity. Had the two Missions been able to combine their forces, the whole body of the islanders might forthwith have been won for Christ and drawn into the united Churches.

Peter Turner was the first English Missionary to make his residence in Samoa. Shortly after his coming a fourth visit, somewhat protracted, was paid by London Missionaries from

¹ The most notable of the five was Barnabas Ahogolu, who exercised a salutary influence amongst the Samoans in later years. When the Methodist Mission was closed, Ahogolu joined the London Society's staff, on Turner's advice; but he found himself ill at ease, and returned home to Tonga. He came back to his former work in 1857, on the restoration of Methodism, to which he rendered incalculable service. Dyson and Brown both refer to him in grateful terms. The latter described Ahogolu as 'a strong, rugged man,' who 'stood like a rock unmoved in the midst of storms. . . . His opinions were weighty, and fortified by shrewd observations and strong common sense.' He was 'a model Native Minister and pastor,' and lived to old age in his adopted country, passing away in the year 1881. There was something superior and commanding about the best of the Friendly Islanders, which other Polynesian tribes generally recognized. Few Christian nations, in proportion to their size, have produced so many Missionaries as the Tongan.

other islands; the visitors held themselves aloof, neither assisting nor interfering with the Methodist leader. The great trouble began with the landing, in June, 1836, of six young men of the London Society fresh from England, armed with an instrument for the ejection of the interloper. They brought a copy of the compact made between the two Societies in London, dating from February of that year, on the strength of which they had come to take complete occupation of the Navigators' Islands. These gentlemen invited Mr. Turner to hand over to them the direction of the thousands of souls brought to the knowledge of God by his ministry, and to wind up Methodist affairs in Samoa. Upon his demur, with the insolence of youth they served on him by letter notice to quit.

Turner, who had no inkling of the negotiations carried on in London, was thunderstruck. He could only reply that he was unaware of the offence with which he was taxed, and must await the instructions of his own Society. Immediately Turner wrote to Hatton Garden asking for an explanation. He related the circumstances of his appointment to Samoa,¹ concerning which the Mission House was by this time informed; he related the work that God had wrought through his coming; he asked if his Mission was to be arrested, and the Methodist Church raised up in Samoa to be disowned; he implored the Secretaries and Committee for a reprieve, begging them to find some escape from the fatal compact, if it actually had been made.

The sad agreement [he said afterwards] nearly broke my heart. . . . I grew grey prematurely over it, and got a head as white as flax at the age of forty! If writing this with my blood [he declared to the Committee] would be the means of your retaining the Mission, how gladly would I do it; or if my prostrating myself on my bended knees before you would avail, how would I rejoice to do it!

The Missionary's distressful appeal was in vain! 'We have made this engagement with the London Society,' replied the Secretaries, 'and we cannot draw back.'

¹ It appears that the General Secretaries, on being apprised of the intention to send Turner to Samoa, had written to veto this arrangement and to leave Samoa alone, having resolved to give their full strength in the South Seas to the Fiji Islands; but the counter-order arrived too late. When they closed with the proposals of Williams and the L.M.S. early in 1836 they presumed that the Tonga Synod was acting on the above instruction. This was a sensible plan, had it only been decided upon in good time, and had not the Tongan Missionaries previously, with the Committee's approval, pledged themselves to Samoa. Evidently they did not realize the fact that success in Tonga entailed responsibilities toward Samoa.

Out of its diminutive staff the Synod had sent Matthew Wilson to assist Turner on receiving the news of his extraordinary success. It was confident that the Missionary Committee, when fully informed of the facts, would sanction the further sacrifice. On finding its action disowned instead of being endorsed at Hatton Garden, the Synod addressed a strongly worded remonstrance¹ to the Committee, in reply to which the following resolution was passed in London (dated December 6, 1837):

That Mr. P. Turner and colleague or colleagues who may have subsequently joined him are affectionately but positively required to suspend forthwith their operations in the Navigators' Islands.

The Native converts in Samoa, devotedly attached to Mr. Turner, heard the news of his recall and the suspension of the Methodist Mission with dismay. For them 'it was,' writes Dyson, 'as though an iceberg had struck their vessel, and now she must be abandoned.'² Their displeasure against the *lotu* Tahiti, which had robbed them of their father in Christ, was intense. No power on earth, they declared, would make them take these men for their pastors, or adopt the change in their religion which was being forced upon them. Turner did his best to reconcile them to the transfer and to allay the excitement. His persuasions were now of little avail. The people felt themselves wronged and deserted, and insulted besides by the complete ignoring of their own views and preferences. There was something extravagant and childish in the demonstrations which took place, and a jealous partisanship much to be deplored; the Samoans were morally but children, and unequal to the shock which had come upon them.

An assembly, widely attended by other islanders, was held at Manono to consider the question. Joel, the brother of King George of Tonga, was present, as well as Mr. Turner. Addressing the former, the principal spokesman said:

Our minds are very much pained with the news from England that Mr. Turner and Mr. Wilson must leave Samoa. Mr. Turner tells us to

¹ The Synod resolutions described the enterprise in the Navigators' Islands as 'one of the most prosperous Missions ever commenced,' and spoke of the suggested abandonment as 'suicidal.' Such a policy of retreat might well react dangerously upon the work in the Friendly Islands.

² See *My Story*, p. 25.

join the other Missionaries ; but we cannot do so. . . . Our friends do not know how difficult Samoa is. We have not one king here, but we all do what we please. Are there not many different sects in England ? Then why should the people of England wish us to have only one here ? The Tahitian teachers were here long before Mr. Turner, but they never sought us. But when Mr. Turner came, he voyaged round the islands, and many thousands became religious. How, then, can we go over to this people ? Joel, if Mr. Turner and Mr. Wilson go, we shall return to our foolish ways—to our dances and our many wives !

The prediction proved only too true, and the compact of February, 1836, was disastrous for religion in Samoa.

This is very bad of the people of England [the speaker continued] to take from us the true light and involve us in darkness, and perhaps in eternal ruin !

Turning to the Missionary, the chief rehearsed what he had done for the benighted Samoans in this short time, and expressed their gratitude toward him, imploring him not to forsake them in their groping toward the light, since these other guides were repugnant to them and impossible.

Have you no love for us ? [he cried] Will you leave us to go astray ? Do you expect us to join the other Missionaries ? Mr. Turner, we cannot do it. If you leave us, we will *die* with love to you, and our spirits shall follow you on the mighty deep ! If you go we shall seek another Tongan.

Once more appealing to Joel, and through him to the people of the Friendly Islands, this masterly speaker said :

Will *Tonga* throw us away ? We are your friends, your sons and daughters ; you know that Tonga chiefs are chiefs here, and Samoa chiefs are chiefs at Tonga. And shall we be separated by the *lotu*, or by our *lotu* relatives in England ? No ; no ; NO ! . . . What do we know of Tahiti ? What communications had the Tahitians with us, or with Tonga ? We only heard of Tahiti last night.

Never was a Missionary placed in a more cruel dilemma. Every word of the Manono protest went to his heart. He knew well that behind it there was the feeling and fixed purpose of his 13,000 Samoan Methodists. Yet the Missionary Committee was inexorable ; its 'honour' was concerned in his removal and the abandonment of this great flock which

'would not follow strangers.' He was tempted to stay on, half feeling that to do this would be to 'obey God rather than men.' Had he taken such a course, few would have greatly blamed him. But his loyalty to Methodist order prevailed. With a bleeding heart, and under sad forebodings, Turner made his farewells. It was some time before means of transit could be procured. Mr. Williams arrived in the islands to superintend the execution of his plan. He sympathized with Mr. Turner, but was sure the arrangement made was for the best, and that the mourning people would get over their bereavement before very long. Mr. and Mrs. Turner accepted the passage offered them in Williams's missionary vessel, and so quitted their Samoan home for ever. A plot was discovered at the last moment to kidnap the beloved Missionary and carry him off into the bush, in order to detain him until the *Camden* had sailed ! Thus ended, in May, 1839, the strange episode of the planting of Methodism in the Navigators' Islands, in its issue an example of mistaken and mismanaged missionary comity.

From every point of view this summary closing of our Mission in Samoa was lamentable. On the one side was the fact that Williams and Barff were the first European Missionaries to set foot on the Navigators' Island, and the Tahitian agents they left behind were the first authorized Christian teachers planted there. This led the London Society to regard the province as its own ; and it was prepared to expend upon it men and means sufficient for its full evangelization. On the other hand, the Gospel reached Samoa, originally and spontaneously, from Tonga ; the relationships and predilections of great numbers of the Samoans inclined them toward Tonga ; the Tonguese language afforded the readiest means of communication ; above all, the seal of the Spirit of God set on Peter Turner's work in the islands marked this out as a field designed for Methodist tillage. When the Hatton Garden Committee made the covenant of February, 1836, it proceeded on a defective knowledge of its responsibilities in the case¹ ; it was totally unaware of recent events in Tonga and of the outcome of Peter Turner's Mission, which

¹ The L.M.S. officials were much better posted up at the time of these negotiations in South Sea affairs than were those of the W.M.M.S. ; they had John Williams on the spot, with his commanding influence and persuasive power.

had entirely changed the situation. It accepted¹ Williams' perfectly honest but *ex-parte* report of the agreement made six years earlier with Nathaniel Turner, which fell in with its present views, without waiting for confirmation from its own representatives. The London Society, anxious about its position in Samoa, pressed for an immediate settlement; the Wesleyan Society, with its thoughts bent on Fiji, was glad to know that Samoa would be well looked after; to consult parties in Tonga and New Zealand would mean a year's delay; why should Methodism play the part of 'dog in the manger?' Better settle the matter out of hand and be done with it!

It was a mistake such as the Wesleyan Mission House did not often commit, to decide a local question like this without taking into counsel its agents upon the field; to settle it without inquiring into the disposition of the Native people concerned, and in ignorance of the fact that they had opinions and feelings on the subject, was a yet more serious blunder. The contracting parties proceeded like two political Great Powers who distribute islands at the Antipodes, or slice up African territories in sublime indifference to the views of the inhabitants. It so happened that the Samoan Christians had a will of their own, and did not choose to be handed over from one Society to another by the vote of a score of worthy gentlemen sitting round a board in London. The result was calculated to teach both Societies that their children from amongst the heathen possessed minds as well as souls; they were not to be used as

¹ The Committee had before it the formidable task of missioning Fiji, and found itself unable to undertake Samoa and Fiji simultaneously. Nathaniel Turner seems to have been partly to blame for the lack of information at Hatton Garden. Williams had written to him in 1832 from Raiatea, after his voyage of exploration, stating his plans in regard to the Navigators' Islands, and quoting their conversation in Tonga-tabu as warranting himself in the assumption that the Wesleyan Mission would not meddle with that field. This important letter, to which Dyson refers in p. 23 of his *Story*, Turner failed to report to his superiors in London. He was then absorbed in New Zealand affairs, and probably dismissed the matter from his mind, presuming that his disclaimer of the supposed agreement, made in reply to Williams' letter, put an end to the mistaken assumption. Not till later in 1837 was the Wesleyan Mission House in possession of Nathaniel Turner's views upon the 'agreement.' Then it came out that his remarks to Williams touching Samoa made in July, 1830, bore solely on the stationing of the Tahitian teachers the latter had with him, who (Turner suggested) would be better employed in Samoa than in Fiji. So far as Turner could remember, the question of general policy, as to the division of labour between the two Societies, was never raised between them. That Williams himself had not, at the time of the voyage of 1830, the plan of delimitation alleged, appears to be evident from the fact, adduced by Dyson (see p. 23 of *My Story*), that 'after his interview with Mr. Turner he sent two of his (Tahitian) teachers to Fiji.' As Dyson says, Williams in his subsequent recollections probably *ante-dated* 'his scheme of divided Mission labour,' and imputed to Nathaniel Turner the idea which Turner's observations had suggested to him.

mere counters in ecclesiastical negotiations, to be bargained for and disposed of at the arbitration of others. Though born only the other day, the young Churches of Christ must be treated with respect and with care, as being vested already with something of the liberty of the sons of God.

An impartial judge would come to the following conclusions, as we think, after examining the evidence in the above admonitory case of missionary diplomacy :

(1) That Williams' major premiss was perfectly sound ; it was a waste of strength for two Missionary Societies to operate within the narrow field of Samoa. Unwholesome rivalry, if not positive collision, was likely to ensue.

(2) That if a choice had to be made between the London Society working from Tahiti and the Methodist Society working from Tonga (between the *lotu* Tahiti and the *lotu* Tonga, as the Samoans put it), the latter was in a better position to do the work required. The fact that Christianity spread in the first instance self-sown from the Friendly to the Navigators' Islands is sufficient proof of this.

(3) That notwithstanding the natural ties connecting these two groups, and the facility with which the former country could be evangelized from the latter, when the London Society had set its heart upon this piece of work, and was prepared to carry it out in full strength, it would have been right for the other Society to retire from Samoa in its favour, provided the arrangement had been in good time and with the consent of all parties concerned. But that

(4) When Tongan Methodism had been on the ground for six years, and had rooted itself in the affections of a large part of the Samoan tribes—above all, when Peter Turner's ministry had commended the Gospel in the form of the *lotu* Tonga throughout the islands and he had formed a Church of 4,000 members, sure to be unsettled by the transference, and utterly averse to it—the proposal had come too late. Whatever misunderstanding or irregularity there had been about Turner's going to Samoa, the fact that he had gone, and had won this great flock for Christ, could not be undone. The London Missionaries should have rejoiced in it ; if they could not help the successful reaper in God's harvest field, they should at least have left him undisturbed with the people who were his work in the Lord. No Committee on earth had the right to

thrust out these thousands of heathen converts from the Church of their birth.

The Samoan Methodists had said to Mr. Turner, when he entreated them to accept the London Missionaries: 'We will never go over to the other *lotu*.' Most of them were as good as their word. Abandoned by their pastors and teachers (for the Tongan Wesleyan agents were withdrawn along with the two Missionaries), they attempted to feed and shepherd themselves, keeping up in their own chapels, by an imitation often pitiable enough, the round of Methodist services and usages of which they had had so brief an experience.

There was no abatement of their zeal [says Dyson] and their numbers increased rather than diminished during the year 1839. At this time nearly all the ruling chiefs were Methodists, and many of the chiefs of secondary rank were Preachers. The 'Leaders' appointed by Turner and Wilson remained in office, and in each Society regulated the affairs of the Church.

Conscious of their lack of guidance, and finding the Missionary Society in England and the Missionaries in the Friendly Islands inexorable, the people turned in their distress to King George of Tonga, whom they knew to be their friend. In 1840 a deputation of three respected chiefs and Church officers from some of the smaller islands arrived in Tonga, bringing a letter to the Missionaries and the King expressive of their unabated loyalty to the *lotu* Tonga. They begged the Missionaries to supply them with Bibles. 'Do print a great many copies of the sacred writings and send them to us,' the petitioners wrote.¹ Then they added:

King George Taufa-ahau, if Samoa be thrown away by the Missionaries, do you select some Tongan teachers and send them unto us. We will not by any means change our minds, for our religion is well established. . . . We have great love to Mr. Turner and Mr. Thomas—to all the Missionaries—and also to the King of Tonga and to the Tongan teachers. Have love to us, and send Missionaries to Samoa.

Sorely against their will, the Missionaries turned a deaf ear to this petition. The policy of the Missionary Society practically meant starving its Samoan adherents into surrender

¹ For years this community doggedly refused to touch the Scripture versions and other literature supplied by the London Mission; they would use nothing but the fragmentary and crude translations which Turner had provided in his few months of opportunity. It was with the utmost difficulty that they were induced, on the re-establishment of Methodism in 1857, to accept the excellent Samoan Bible of the *lotu* Tahiti, 'the best version,' it is said, 'in all Polynesia.'

to the *lotu* Tahiti by a famine of the Word of God! King George ventured to differ from his spiritual advisers. He was no party to the pact of 1836, and most heartily disapproved of it. The Samoans were as his own flesh and blood—some of the leading Methodists there were his family relations; he knew their honesty and their obstinacy. He determined to meet the request. The Missionaries had not the power, if they had the right, to prevent his action; their veto would have resulted in the breaking up of the Tonga Church. A band of Tongan teachers was chosen, headed by Benjamin Latusele, a man of exceptional ability and enterprise. Their business was first to inquire into the facts reported by the Samoan deputies. If they found the Methodists reconciled to the *lotu* Tahiti, or inclining to be so, they were to return immediately without interference, but to remain and render whatever help they could if the people were still without pastors. Latusele and his companions landed in Samoa in 1841 and took over the direction of Methodism in the islands concerned, much to the satisfaction of those who had invited them.

Seeing the success of their neighbours, the Methodists of Savaii and Manono resorted to the same plan. Four leading chiefs now appeared before King George, coming as ambassadors from these principal islands to lay the charge of the Methodist Church formally upon his shoulders! By this time the king's sympathy was thoroughly enlisted, and he resolved to go and see with his own eyes how matters stood. The deputies returned home bringing His Majesty with them, accompanied by ten additional Tongan teachers. This was in July, 1842. The royal inspector was welcomed with enthusiasm; he visited the principal towns and villages, preaching with apostolic zeal. Finally he attended a national concourse in Manono, at which a solemn covenant was taken, approved by

a forest of uplifted hands, to maintain to death the Wesleyan Methodist religion, and to continue it in the same form in which Mr. Peter Turner left it. This extraordinary scene marked the high-water level of Methodism in Samoa, in respect of members and popularity, if not of spiritual power.¹

To the distant observer these proceedings might appear theatrical and overdone—a sort of storm in a tea-cup; but the

¹ Dyson's *My Story*, p. 36.

forsaken Methodists were in desperate earnest. They were for making an experiment in Church government—a royal supremacy exercised by the king of a neighbouring country. The one thing on which they were resolved was to ‘stand fast and hold the traditions they had received.’ Their fidelity, however inconvenient and impracticable in the form it assumed, deserved a more considerate treatment than was accorded it by the heads of the Societies in England. King George was suspected of covert political designs in the course he took in this emergency ; by his ill-wishers he was supposed to be aiming at the sovereignty of Samoa, but there is no evidence of any such intention on his part. Had he been ambitious in that way, he knew too well the temper of the Samoans to entertain the project. On returning home he addressed an able statement upon the Samoan question to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, concluding with this appeal :

I most earnestly beg and beseech you, dear fathers whom we greatly love, that you will at length untie the words you have spoken and again send your Missionaries to Samoa. The friends in England are not able to change the minds of the people in Samoa or Tonga as to what religion they shall be of.

The king’s intercession was as useless as the rest ; the Missionary Committee was adamant toward Samoa ; its ‘honour’ was at stake ! The Mission House does not seem to have made any attempt to obtain a release from, or a modification of, the agreement of 1836, although that agreement was confessedly drawn up in ignorance of the most material circumstances of the case.

For several years after King George’s visit the teachers from Tonga continued, under his general direction, given by correspondence and messenger, to conduct prosperously the affairs of the isolated Methodist Church in the islands.

If they had only kept themselves free from political meddling [Dyson believes], they would have made Methodism the religion of Samoa ; and it would have been an utter waste of men, money, and time for the Missionaries of the London Society to remain in the group.¹

The high-handed attempt of the latter in 1836–39 had alienated Samoan sentiment ; they had taken little by the deportation

¹ *My Story*, p. 36. Mr. Dyson was in a better position than any one else to acquaint himself with the facts of this agitated time.

of Mr. Turner. The Tongan leaders stumbled, however, over the political stumbling-stone. Whether, or how far, King George was responsible for their blunder it is impossible to say ; under direction of this kind it was inevitable that Church affairs should in one way or another become involved with those of the State. This happened when, in 1847, Benjamin Latusele, the foremost of the Tongan band,¹ allowed himself to be drawn into tribal intrigues, through which he alienated the best of his own people in Upolu and brought reproach on his Church throughout the islands.* Some of the offended families went over to the London Mission, others to the Roman Catholics, who had by this time secured a footing in Samoa.

From this time the fate of Methodism was sealed. It now rapidly declined, and was soon outstripped and overcast by the kindred Society.

Unfailing discretion was not to be expected from the instructors Tonga supplied ; they regarded themselves, indeed, only as a stop-gap, and their authority was always imperfect and disputable. The European teaching and leadership enjoyed by the other Church was bound to tell in the long run, whatever the prejudice it suffered from at the outset.

At this juncture a succession of tribal wars began in Samoa, which acted with demoralizing effect on the diminished Methodist flock. Heathen abominations were revived ; the warnings of apostasy with which the wisest Samoan chiefs endeavoured to deter Turner and Wilson from withdrawing were shockingly fulfilled. Methodism fell at length into such contempt that in the island of Tutuila it was ' proscribed by the chiefs and burnt out of the place ! ' By the early fifties

¹ Shortly before this occurrence Latusele had visited Tonga and obtained ordination there from the Wesleyan Missionaries, on the understanding that he should remain in the Friendly Islands serving as a Native Minister of the Tongan Church. On Latusele's returning to Samoa to bring away his family the Samoan Methodists forcibly detained him and insisted on his exercising his enlarged ministry for their benefit. He consented and assumed as an ordained pastor enhanced authority ; but before long he was entangled in the snare of politics.

* Referring to a much later crisis in Samoan affairs, in which Missionaries were censured on the like account, R. L. Stevenson wisely observes : ' The Missions may have been to blame. Missionaries are perhaps apt to meddle overmuch outside their discipline. It is a fault which should be judged with mercy. The problem is sometimes so insidiously presented that even a moderate and able man is betrayed beyond his own intention ; and the Missionary in such a land as Samoa is something besides a Minister of religion ; he represents civilization, he is condemned to be an organ of reform, he could scarce evade (even if he desired) a certain influence in political affairs ' (see *Footnote to History*, p. 274). For a Tongan of wide influence in Samoa like Latusele, especially as the nominee and representative of King George Tubou, it was scarcely possible to avoid involvement in civic responsibilities. His fault was certainly not severely judged by his ecclesiastical superiors, deplorable as its consequences were.

most of the teachers from Tonga appear to have returned disheartened. In the year 1855, when the South Sea Missions came under the control of the newly created Australasian Conference, no more than a remnant of two or three thousand nominal adherents was left out of Peter Turner's host of followers. These immovable retainers of Methodism who refused the offices of the London Mission, according to Dyson's testimony, 'were debased and ignorant to a proverb.'

Such was the inglorious end, so far as concerned the parent Missionary Society, of the Mission to the Navigators' Islands so auspiciously commenced. A new chapter opened for the melancholy story in 1857, into which we must glance, although it lies beyond the strict limits of the present work. On his way back from England to Tonga in the year 1855 John Thomas spent some time in Sydney. There on June 8 he addressed a breakfast meeting held under the auspices of the lately constituted Australian Methodist Missionary Society. In speaking at this gathering on the subject of Polynesian Missions, Mr. Thomas told the twenty years' tale of Methodist doings in Samoa; he described the pitiful condition to which the residue of our thousands of converts there, still clinging to the Methodist name and tradition, had been reduced. The narration so moved the compassion of his hearers, some of whom were able to give corroborative evidence, that they passed a resolution on the spot which pledged them to take the matter up. The Missionary Committee of the new Conference was called upon to investigate the circumstances, and it commissioned Mr. Thomas, accompanied by Latuselu, who had been restored to the Tongan Native ministry, to visit the islands on its behalf and hold an inquiry with a view to advise the Conference on the question of reviving the lapsed Mission.

Guided by the report of their commissioner, the Missionary Committee and the Conference of 1856 determined at once to recognize the disowned Methodists of Samoa and to send them a European Minister. The decisive resolution purported that

the arrangements made (for Samoa) in the year 1837 have not answered the end designed . . . that serious evils have occurred, and are likely to be perpetuated and aggravated if Wesleyan Missionaries are not immediately sent to meet the wants and wishes of the Wesleyan Societies residing in these islands.

The decision was reported, and reasons for it given, in letters to the Committees of the mother Society in England and of the London Missionary Society. The latter entered its protest, standing on the terms of the 1836 covenant, which it held to be binding upon the Australian authorities who had taken over the obligations of the British Conference in the South Seas. The representatives of the London Missionary Society dwelt also on the waste involved in different Missionary Societies spending their energies within the same limited field, while vast stretches of heathendom remained untouched. They stated also that the main part of the old Methodist interest had been peaceably united with their Mission, and 'a party only remained outside, kept back by political motives and family connexions,' which would inevitably be absorbed before long. The Methodist rejoinder was to the effect that the Australian Conference was no party to the agreement quoted; it must act upon its own judgement in respect to Samoa, and was perfectly free to do so; that the Samoan Methodists—the persons primarily concerned in the transaction—had repudiated the transfer from the beginning; that there still remained after seventeen years, and when the Wesleyan Missionaries had done their best to reconcile their converts to the change, a large section of irreconcilables left without teaching or oversight, a scandal to the Christian and the Methodist name which they bore; that whatever might be the motives of these people, the fact of their persistent attachment to the Church that first ministered to them remained, and could no longer be disregarded; and that for these reasons the Australian Methodist Missionary Society was constrained to accede to the request of the long-derelict community, and was doing so altogether in the interests of religion and in the spirit of friendship toward the London Society. It might have been added that the Australians, in virtue of their situation, were nearly touched by the Samoan appeal, and were in a position to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the state of affairs in the South Sea Islands.

The case was one of great delicacy as well as difficulty. Martin Dyson, the able young Missionary and sound organizer whom the Australian Conference sent to take up this charge, on his arrival judged the resumption of the work in Samoa to have been ill advised. He would have abandoned the task of restoration a year after its commencement, but his Chairman,

Thomas, who visited him from Tonga in 1858, would not hear of retreat, and induced him to persevere. Dyson held, as he stated in the clear and dispassionate narrative we have so often quoted, that the surrender of the field in 1839 was a grievous mistake and a wrong to the people who had trusted the Methodist Church and looked to it as their spiritual guide; but that in 1857 the mistake was past mending, and what then remained salvable of the original Methodist Societies should have been left to merge itself in the constituency of the London Society, which was twelve times as large, and incomparably superior in character, organization, and appliances.¹ Dr. George Brown, who began his ministry as Dyson's assistant in 1860, and who aided most effectively in the resuscitation, gives his judgement in the following terms:

Of the justice of that action (the reinstitution of Samoan Methodism) I have never had any doubts, though I have always felt that the question as to whether it was expedient to resume the Mission after the lapse of so many years might at one time have been fairly questioned.

The London Mission, at any rate, Brown shows to have been a gainer by the Methodist reoccupation.² The fickleness and disputatiousness of the Samoans, he considers, made divisions among them unavoidable.

The different sects which have taken root here abundantly prove that it was not possible for any one branch of the Church of Christ to unite the whole people; and the greatest hindrance to the spread of Roman Catholicism, Mormonism, Seventh Day Adventism, &c., is the fact that two of the recognized evangelical Churches are in the group.³

In short, Brown judges that the presence of alternative Churches supplies a safety-valve for Samoan quarrels, and enables the Natives with less danger to cry, 'I am of Paul and I of Apollos!' Dyson, however, appears to think that at one time Methodism might have religiously united this strife-loving people.

In the end the London Missionaries accepted the situation

¹ See *My Story*, pp. 37-49.

² 'Whereas in 1856, before the resumption, the L.M.S. had 2,000 Church members and Missionaries, in 1862, with fewer Missionaries, its membership had risen to 4,200' (see Danks, *A Century in the Pacific*, p. 492).

³ Dr. Brown, nevertheless, is eloquent on the amiable qualities of this people. The references just made are from pp. 29-30 of the *Autobiography*.

with a good grace, and the Ministers of the two Societies have for a generation past fraternized and co-operated usefully. Dyson set the example by showing deference and consideration for the men of the other Mission, and by adjusting his plans to theirs wherever possible. He commended and used their excellent Bible version, and adopted their Samoan Christian terms, in place of the inferior vocabulary and the tentative renderings inherited from Peter Turner, to which the Native Methodists up to this time had clung as to their shibboleth. It was one of Dyson's hardest tasks to break down this conservatism. Cutting themselves off from the progress made by their fellow Christians since the withdrawal of their own Missionaries, the Methodists had relapsed far toward barbarism. Dyson set his face resolutely against proselytism from the sister Church, which his Tongan assistants, eager to recover the old Methodists who had 'gone over' in that direction, would have prosecuted with might and main.¹

In 1863 Samoa was constituted a separate District by detachment from the Friendly Islands, with Martin Dyson for its Chairman. There were now two Circuits, containing more than 1,000 Church members, with 473 'on trial'; about 60 Local Preachers; 40 Sunday schools and 60 Day schools; the entire Methodist constituency was over 5,000, being double the number of nominal Methodists estimated on Dyson's arrival six years earlier. The Church as it now existed, if still backward in intelligence and spirituality, was well organized and under watchful discipline. In 1864 a forward stride was taken by the opening of the Native training school for teachers and Preachers. From Satupaitea, where George Brown built this school, it was removed in 1875 to Lufilufi, in Upolu; there it still stands. This establishment signalized the rooting of Methodism once more in the Samoan Islands.

¹ Notwithstanding the scrupulous care of Dyson and his colleagues, they were attacked on this score in a *Protest of the Samoan Missionaries of the London Society*, which was printed in the *British Standard* newspaper and widely circulated. The restored Wesleyan Mission was stigmatized as 'a system of proselytizing aggressions on the stations in charge of our (L.M.S.) Missionaries.' The accusers spoke of the 'reintrusion' of the Wesleyans; they were obsessed with the mistaken idea that the latter had officiously thrust themselves in on ground in the previous possession of the London Society. Dyson and others effectually rebutted these heated and groundless imputations, which after a while were dropped. The fact was that a certain number of former Methodists did return to their own Church, which they had always preferred, on its re-establishment; and the Wesleyan Missionaries, though they never invited, but discouraged, such applicants, could not refuse to admit them nor question their right of choice; some of the London Missionaries, quite needlessly, feared that a wholesale defection would ensue.

But in 1863 the Mission suffered a check. A third Missionary had been appointed to the District and put in charge of a new Circuit, but in a few months family troubles enforced his quitting the field. The departure awakened distrust amongst the people, and (writes Dyson) 'a chilling cold benumbed our Native teachers.'¹ War broke out soon after; a hurricane, followed by famine, scourged the islands. The *Protest*, issued on behalf of the London Society, added to the harassing circumstances of this juncture.

The year was one of severe trial to us, but we lost nothing of our confidence in the righteousness, justice, and benevolence of our cause, though we learnt that . . . we were committed to a self-imposed work which would not add much to the glory of Methodism. We continued to be cheered with the conversion of sinners here and there in the group. Our members increased from our own hearers and not, as some would say, from the stray wounded sheep of the London Society.²

In 1865 Martin Dyson finished his work in the Mission, and George Brown succeeded to the Chair, which he filled with ability and vigour until his departure for new missionary fields in 1874.

The beginners of the new era have been followed by a succession of worthy and efficient Australian Missionaries to Samoa, who have carried on the Methodist testimony and labours to the present day. In size our Church has not greatly grown during the last half-century, and the improvement in quality and character of the two Protestant Churches, and of the Samoan Natives generally, during that period has been slow and hindered. Pagan vices and evil customs are not to be eradicated in one generation, nor in two. Tribal jealousies, the inveterate bane of Samoa, have kept the islands in a continual ferment, repeatedly breaking forth into war. Foreign interference has repressed these feuds, but the rivalries of the Western Powers for a long time went to aggravate the unrest. The influence of evil-minded Europeans, damaging to Polynesian life both in soul and body, has nowhere been more active and noxious than in Samoa.

According to the latest returns, the Methodist Church in the islands numbers 2,624 Church members (including those on

¹ See *My Story*, pp. 74-77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

trial), and about 7,000 attenders at public worship,¹ between a fifth and sixth of the population. There are four White Missionaries and three Native Ministers, assisted by 250 Local Preachers and over 500 Class-leaders ; 50 churches, with 36 'other preaching-places,' in two Circuits. The Australian Missionary report for 1914 describes the Samoan District as passing out of the dependent Mission stage into that of developed, self-supporting Church life. A 'new constitution,' giving a large measure of self-government to this province, was then on the point of settlement.

¹ The Congregationalists (of the L.M.S.) are perhaps four times as many ; the Roman Catholic constituency is smaller than the Methodist. The Seventh Day Adventists are comparatively numerous. Mormonism has also a footing in Samoa.

1880





V

THE CANNIBAL ISLANDS

The Fiji Islands—Their Inhabitants—Religious Ideas and Customs—The Coming of the Gospel—Cross and Cargill—Lakemba—First-fruits—Persecutions—Recruits from England.

THE islands of Fiji (or Viti¹), to which eighty years ago the dreadful title at the head of this chapter belonged, are amongst the larger clusters of the Pacific Archipelago. Their size, fertility, and situation combine to give them a peculiar importance, and they form to-day a valuable possession of the British Crown, an outlier of Australia and New Zealand and a link between their commerce and the American continent. The total land-surface of Fiji is 7,435 square miles, about the extent of the country of Wales. Six-sevenths of this area belong to the two islands of Viti Levu (Great Fiji) and Vanua Levu (Great Land), the former of which, compact in shape, covers nearly 4,000 square miles, being by itself ten times as big as the whole of the Friendly Islands together. Only a third of the 250 islands and islets counted in the group are inhabited. Disposed in a circular form between latitudes 15° and 20° south, and about the meridian of 180°, the Fijis are situated 1,200 miles north of Auckland and 1,900 miles north-east of Sydney, with Tonga bearing east by south-east and Samoa almost due north-east, while the New Hebrides, the nearest Melanesian group, are somewhat farther away to the west. The soil of the islands, formed of the detritus of volcanic rocks which in comparatively recent geological times have broken through and mingled with the coralline limestone everywhere in rapid deposition in the warm shallows of the Pacific Ocean, is uncommonly productive. The larger islands of the group, rising into mountain-ranges and plateaus pierced by river-valleys of considerable size, present great varieties of

¹ *Fiji* is the Tongan corruption, prevalent also in the windward (south-eastern) Fijis, of the native *Viti*.

aspect and scenes of enchanting beauty. They lend themselves to the cultivation of every kind of tropical produce, while on the higher levels plants of more temperate latitudes flourish. Forests of magnificent timber luxuriate on the windward, moisture-laden side of the islands; the leeward districts, looking north-west, are covered with grass and shrubs, and their uplands supply abundant pasturage. Except in birds and in insect-plagues, the indigenous *fauna* of Fiji is poor; pigs, dogs, and fowls (all Tongan importations, it is said), are the only Native domestic animals; European settlers have brought with them cattle and horses. On the whole the Fijian climate is salubrious for the tropics. Fevers are rare; dysentery is the most dangerous malady. The sea-breezes, and the mountain-heights, reaching over 4,000 feet in the greater islands, agreeably temper the summer heats. The rainfall is abundant. Hurricanes are less frequent and destructive than in Tonga.

Visited by Tasman and Cook in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Fiji Islands had much to attract European adventurers. But there were strong deterrents in the way of early commerce and settlement. One of these lay in the danger besetting navigation, through the great number and irregular distribution of the islands, with their fringing and outlying reefs and the paucity of good harbours. Still more repellent was the character of the inhabitants, who bore the reputation of being the most ferocious man-eaters on the face of the earth. While the Maoris celebrated their victories in war by feasts on human flesh, and in other South Sea Islands religious ceremonies were occasionally attended by orgies of this nature, amongst the Fijians the hideous diet was enjoyed on its own account, and the cannibal appetite had become inveterate. In many places the man-ovens were in continual use; public guests were by custom honoured with a banquet furnished in this way. Men were systematically marked down, and hunted or waylaid, to provide meat for the chief's table and for festival occasions. The motive of gluttony was added to those of revenge and cruelty in the cultivation of this most atrocious of heathen vices. So familiar was the practice that it was no uncommon thing for an incensed chief to say to the subject of his anger, 'I'll eat you!' and this was no idle threat. When a Fijian saw a stranger in good physical condition, he was apt

to remark, 'What fine eating that man would make!' Great chiefs would keep a reckoning of their victims by way of pride; one monster, known to the first Missionaries, had the consumption of 900 human bodies counted, on good evidence, to his sole credit. Now and then, John Hunt testifies, Fijian warriors would even devour the body of a friend slain in battle, after giving him a mock funeral. The indulgence was not, however, universal, being ordinarily limited to the chiefs and their retainers. Women were commonly excluded from the cannibal feasts, though their sex not seldom supplied the victims; the priests in some localities were also forbidden human flesh. Amongst the nobility there were strict abstainers; whole families, and even islands, were free from the abomination.¹ The public conscience, secretly against it, was speedily awakened by the horror it excited in visitors from other lands. In the popular mind the custom was associated with the qualities of warlike vigour, of ruthless energy and thoroughness characterizing the ruling classes; its frightfulness recommended it on campaigns of conquest, and the most powerful and ambitious kings were the last to relinquish what they deemed to be a badge of authority and a useful aid to government. Foreign sailors had the more reason to dread this fate because in heathen Fiji, as elsewhere in the Pacific, the misfortune of shipwreck was held to be a proof of divine displeasure, and its victims, whether strangers or fellow countrymen, were regarded as culprits unworthy of pity; their property and their persons were seized as a windfall from the gods by those on whose shores the luckless ship was cast.

As it happened in New Zealand and Tonga, so here, unfortunately, the Natives came first into contact with White men through the lowest of their kind—through fugitive sailors and escaped convicts. A number of depraved criminals of the latter class found their way to Fiji in 1804 from New South Wales, who not only saved their own lives, but inspired terror in the people through the fire-arms they carried with them. Some of these desperadoes, who fell in but too readily with the vices of the heathen, commending themselves by their daring and craft in exploits of war, survived for many years.² The

¹ In Lakemba, for example, where the Missionaries began their labours, cannibalism was not practised. Here Tongan influence had for long prevailed.

² These renegades from civilization drew the line, however, at man-eating

ascendancy of the kings of Mbau¹ was due in great part to their enlisting a Swedish castaway named Charles Savage, a man of decided ability, who trained the warriors of this little state in the use of the musket. An Irish ex-convict named Connor, who died in 1840, rendered similar aid to the king of Rewa, Mbau's dangerous rival. The degraded lives of the earliest European incomers, and of too many amongst the traders who followed them, aggravated the wickedness of the Fijian people, and threw many hindrances in the way of Christianity and moral progress. Here, as elsewhere, unscrupulous dealers, who found the Missionary the chief obstacle to their schemes for exploiting the vice and the ignorance of the savages, became his opposers and traducers.

The savagery of the Fijians was marked by other inhuman practices, shared more or less with barbarous races of the South Seas and of the African and American continents generally, which they carried to the greatest lengths of violence. Amongst these was the practice of strangling widows on their husbands' death, a usage with which Missionaries had to contend for many years. As polygamy was universal in families of rank, this rule entailed multiplied murders and scenes of tragic horror at the death of leading chieftains. That the wife should attend her lord to the afterworld was viewed as a sacred obligation, which it was her pride to fulfil. Often, when others strove to save them, the doomed women insisted upon their right to share the husband's grave, showing the utmost contempt for death, and dressing for the occasion as for a festival! They could live only to be objects of contempt in society. It was the office of their own sons, or nearest male relatives, to fix round the neck and draw tight the strangling cord. The ceremony was public, taking place by the side of the corpse soon after the event of decease. Beside their wives, intimate friends and attendants were sometimes expected to accompany the departing spirit to *Bulotu*, the Fijian Hades. This dreadful custom evidenced the vivid faith of the people in the world beyond the grave. Worship of their ancestors, and recognition of their ghostly power over the fortune of their descendants, formed a principal part of Fijian religion. Infanticide was freely practised in Fiji, but was hardly so prevalent,

¹ *Bau* is the commoner spelling of this name, but the flat mutes *b, d, g* are regularly nasalized in Fijian, and pronounced *mb, nd, ngg*.

nor so shamelessly and openly perpetrated, as the Missionaries found it amongst the Maoris. The Fijians were also accustomed to hasten the death of hopelessly sick and aged people—an act defended by them as done in kindness ; indeed, the ' happy dispatch ' was often desired by incurables. ' Parricide,' says Williams, ' ranked in Fiji as a social institution.' The practice of burying human victims, by way of religious inauguration, in the foundations of new houses and temples—a widespread usage of paganism—was common in Fiji ; at the launching of newly built canoes men's bodies were used for rollers, and thus crushed to death. The people lived in perpetual wars occasioned by the jealousies and ambitions of the chiefs, few of whom exercised any extensive power ; even in time of peace they carried arms, which was not the case in Tonga. As combatants they were distinguished by cunning and treachery rather than by courage, preferring the skirmish and ambush to open encounter. In discipline and bravery the Fijians were no match for Tongan warriors. Wholesale butchery regularly ensued on the capture of an enemy town ; women and children perished along with men, and the captors revelled in outrage and cruelty.

Despite their ferocity, the Fijians in character and manners ranked by no means lowest amongst uncivilized people. Their family affections were in many cases strong and even tender ; they had a certain sense of honour, and were capable of fidelity and warm friendship. In cleanliness and care of their houses, in field-cultivation and in domestic arts—particularly in the preparation of food—the Fijians excelled most Pacific islanders. They had not the peculiar consideration for women distinguishing the Tongans ; the men imposed on them heavy physical toil, and left to them the remnants of their own meals. On the other hand the Fijians showed more regard for chastity, and had more feeling for decency in their daily habits. Tact and politeness were not wanting to them in social intercourse ; elaborate etiquette was practised at their little courts, and in public festivals and ceremonies. Strangers were astonished at the ' gentlemanly ' style in which habitual cannibals could comport themselves.

The extremes of their character [writes John Hunt] are very striking ; one moment a Fijian can be as polite as a Frenchman, and the next as ferocious as a mad dog.

If not so able intellectually as many of the Samoans and Tongans, the Fijians rise to a good average in mental ability ; their language is that of a people of imagination and humour, and of some subtlety of mind, and lends itself to the uses of poetry and oratory. It was found to supply a good medium for Bible translation.¹ Without the ingratiating disposition of their eastern and southern neighbours, the Fijians are more industrious and persevering, more ingenious in the mechanical arts, and of a sturdier fibre. The division of labour and exchange of commodities were practised amongst them ; the several islands and districts, in many instances, cultivated a special skill in particular occupations. In certain quarters, for example, the women carried the manufacture of pottery, of which the Polynesians eastwards have no knowledge, to a perfection unknown elsewhere without the use of the potter's wheel. Manual labour and dexterity were held in honour ; the chiefs did not disdain the drudgery of the garden and workshop, priding themselves on superiority in the labours of peace as well as in those of war. Miss Gordon Cumming describes their *mékés*, or action-songs and dances, in enthusiastic terms.² In this form of art the Fijians exhibited an extraordinary mimetic power and a great faculty for rhythmical movement and expression. After all, the Fijian character had its redeeming features and traits of excellence ; Missionaries who surmounted the loathing excited by their cannibal propensities became genuinely attached to the islanders, and formed a high opinion of their capabilities.

In race and tongue the natives of Fiji are distinct from those of the Polynesian groups to windward. Both their physical features and their language and traditions bespeak for them a mixed descent. Fundamentally their constitution is Melanesian. While well proportioned and athletic in build, the chiefs being sometimes giants in size and strength, their average stature is shorter, and their complexion (a dusky brown) much darker, than that of the Tongans. They have a comparatively

¹ 'If the Fijian must give place to the Tonguese in softness, and perhaps in melody,' says Cargill, 'yet the Tonguese is far surpassed by the Fijian in expression and energy.' Elsewhere he remarks on 'the copiousness and vigour' of Fijian speech. He finds a considerable amount of common vocabulary and idiom in the two languages, although radically distinct.

² *At Home in Fiji*, pp. 88-95. This charming narrative makes many commendatory references to the work of the Wesleyan Missionaries, as the writer saw it at the time of the British annexation in 1874, and to the religious life and manners of the Christianized Fijians, who by this time formed the greater part of the population.

rough skin and thick lips, and their countenance is less refined and pleasing. Their jet-black, or sometimes tawny, hair is crisp and curled and uncommonly profuse; dressed out by the men in marvellous fashion, it forms the conspicuous feature of their persons.¹ At the same time the Fijians do not represent the pure negroid type of New Guinea and western Oceania; there is undoubtedly a Polynesian strain in their composition, especially evident on the windward side of the group, and amongst the coast tribes generally.² This difference is ascribed to the constant influx of Tongan visitors and colonists, who were brought hither by the prevailing winds, the necessities of trade, and the roving spirit of the Friendly Islanders.

The religious ideas and customs of the people of Fiji exhibit a similar blend of the Polynesian and Melanesian. The same religious atmosphere and system prevailed throughout the group; identical deities were worshipped under different names in different islands or townships. The custom of *tabu* was prevalent, as throughout the South Sea Islands; it played a dominant part in the religious and social system of Fiji. Witchcraft was held in mortal fear. The worship of dead ancestors was universally practised, but these were always distinguished from the gods. To the latter was ascribed, in the main, a malignant character, made up of human vices supernaturally magnified and associated with the more destructive agencies of nature; the gods were in most instances 'monster expressions of moral corruption.' The Fijian creed, like that of the ancient Romans as compared with the Greeks, wore a matter-of-fact, materialistic cast. The people fashioned no idols to represent their gods; the Fijian temples, or *bures* (Polynesian *maraes*), used as places of assembly and ceremony, were empty of images. Stones of peculiar shape, particular animals (snakes, lizards, sharks), were identified with certain deities. Above all, the priests were imagined, in the states of convulsion and frenzy which they cultivated, to become organs of the supernatural, and their utterances passed as oracles. *Ndengei* for the Fijians took the place of the Tongan *Tangaroa* as the head of the pantheon, the serpent—symbol of eternity, as in so many lands—being his special shrine. But

¹ Every chief of importance has his own *barber*, who strives to outdo his fellow professionals.

² The contrast between the shore-folk and the hill-folk of Fiji reminds one of that apparent in the Highlands of Scotland.

Ndengei was a kind of abstract infinite, relegated to a remote and gloomy cavern, where occasionally he caused earthquakes by shifting, as he lay prone, from side to side. *Hunger* was the great Being's only sensation. Consequently Ndengei enjoyed little worship; this was commonly paid to the inferior gods. The heavenly bodies played little part in the mythology of the Fijians; nor did their religion approximate to the higher forms of nature-worship or contain elements of sublimity and philosophical reflection beyond the inert traditional idea of Ndengei. There was little in the Fijian nature of the playful fancy which in many Polynesian cults relieved the gloom of religion by fairy tales and elaborate myths of Divine adventures and escapades.¹ It was to the utmost degree 'earthy, sensual, demoniacal.' The general designation *kalou* included all divinities,² and served as a superlative for anything marvellous and suggesting the Divine. *Kalou* might be predicated of the spirits of deceased chiefs and heroes, or even of the ghost of a personal friend, though these were not strictly deified; the boundary line between gods and men was indistinct to Fijian thought.

Like earlier importations, the Gospel came to Fiji from the Friendly Islands.³ So soon as the Mission had become established in Tonga it naturally sent out its roots toward Samoa and Fiji. How it befell with the advance in the former direction we have related in the previous chapter. The Friendly Islands Missionaries, in the strength of the great spiritual awakening just experienced in their own District, were prepared for the undertaking of both enterprises, provided adequate support were forthcoming from home. They

¹ See W. W. Gill's *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*.

² B. H. Thomson distinguishes the *Kalou-Vu* (great gods) from the *Kalou-Valu* (spirit gods), regarding the former as the deities of the Polynesian conquerors, the latter as transmitted from the older Melanesian ancestor-worship. *Ndengei*, however, as he points out, is a Melanesian name, and bears traces of ancestral derivation. On the coming of Christianity Ndengei was frequently identified with *Jehovah*. A sort of Messianic expectation was attached to the names of Ndengei's two grand-nephews, who were believed to have escaped to the West from the flood he had sent upon them, and would some day return bringing the Golden Age. In 1885 a strange heresy broke out, parallel in several respects to the Hau-hauism of New Zealand, combining the announcement of the advent of Ndengei's grand-nephews and a revived ancestor-worship, with Christian ideas, which assumed a nationalistic character dangerous to British ascendancy, and was suppressed by the Government, after disturbing the island for seven years. A third class of deities, who had no temples, priests, or worship, were the gods of the underworld.

³ John Williams in 1830 landed two Tahitian Christian teachers on the Fiji Islands, whom the Methodist Missionaries found there on arrival. But these fore-runners had been unsuccessful. They joined the new-comers, and were serviceable to them.

were already committed, and supposed the Missionary Society itself committed, to the occupying of Samoa, whither Peter Turner was dispatched early in 1835. But *Fiji* had taken the prior place in the thoughts of the Committee in London. Already for three years the 'Fiji Islands' had stood upon its list of Foreign Stations. In 1832, and again in 1833, Charles Tucker and David Cargill had been designated for the new station, these names being replaced in 1834 by 'Stephen Rabone, and another to be sent.' The above appointments, however, failed to take effect in consequence of the vacancies arising in Tonga and the rapid development of the work there, which caused repeated postponement of the projected arrangements for Fiji. At the memorable Tongan Synod of December, 1834, in view of the reinforcements shortly expected from England, it was resolved to proceed at once with the establishment of the Mission to Fiji, simultaneously with that to Samoa; and William Cross, whose health had now been restored after his heavy affliction, volunteered to be Cargill's companion on this hazardous enterprise.¹ Cross was a man of well-tryed devotion, with eight years' experience of labour in the South Seas; Cargill, whose destination from the outset was Fiji, had been now helping for two years in the Tongan service, and high expectations were drawn from his talent and zeal. These two men remained in Tonga till October, 1835, when the missionary recruits were due to arrive from Sydney. They employed the interval in studying the new language by the aid of Fijians resident in Vavau. Cargill even succeeded in preparing for future use a printed Fijian 'First Book' and a Methodist Catechism in the same tongue. Cross and Cargill landed at Lakemba, with their little families, on October 12. Their coming was eagerly awaited by the Tongan Christians of that town, and Tui Nuyau, the king, who had sent them an invitation, received his guests with many signs of friendship.

Lakemba was a stepping-stone from Tonga to Fiji. This town, capital of the island of that name—the largest amongst the windward group of the Fijis, and possessing a fairly good harbour—was, indeed, almost half Tongan. The port was the centre of a trade of considerable dimensions between the

¹ In the *Minutes* for 1835 the names attached to Fiji are those of Peter Turner, Charles Tucker, and Samuel Hooley, the two former having probably been suggested from the Friendly Islands in the year before. Hooley was newly appointed from England; for some unknown reason he remained in the home work.

Friendly Islands and Fiji ; canoes, sometimes in whole fleets, were constantly coming and going. Such intercourse had existed from time immemorial. The Tongans imported Fijian produce—especially timber for boat-building, which is scarce in their islands¹—and manufactured articles in many respects surpassing their own. On the other hand, their superior seamanship and aptitude for trade made them useful to the Fijians, and put them in the way of gaining wealth and influence. Young Tongan chiefs, eager for fighting and finding little scope in their narrow and comparatively peaceful islands, apprenticed themselves in battle in the Fijian campaigns, and gained a name for prowess. The military skill the Tongans acquired under King George Tubou, and the services they rendered in war to leading Fijian chiefs at a later time, with their increasing numbers, made their presence subsequently a political danger in Fiji, and led to suspicions of their design to rule these islands. Though jealousies and quarrels naturally arose, the Tongans and Fijians maintained in general remarkably friendly terms. They differed much in temperament and habits, but each party was useful to the other, and had a certain respect for the powers of its neighbour and an understanding of its neighbour's ways. The Tongan teacher, imported by the Missionaries, was usually *persona grata* with the Natives. The conspicuous success the Wesleyan Mission had gained in Tonga gave it at once a favourable official footing in Lakemba ; indeed, the Church of God in the Friendly Islands stood as 'a city set upon a hill' amongst the isles of the Western Pacific. From King George's dominion 'the Word of the Lord' was now 'sounding out' far and wide, and the Tongan Missionaries took advantage at the right moment of the prestige attaching to their cause. At the same time it would be a mistake, except in the case of individuals here and there, to impute Fijian hospitality to any inclination toward Christianity for its own sake. King Tui Nuyau, for instance, remained an obstinate heathen for many years after the Missionaries' coming to Lakemba, and threw continual hindrances in the way of their work. The considerations disposing Fijian chiefs in favour of the admission of the servants of Christ

¹ Tongan carpenters were sent across to Fiji to build canoes there for Tongan chiefs. The Tongans appear to have greatly improved in the art of boat-building through Fijian instruction ; but the Fijians never approached their neighbours in skill of navigation.

arose from the material advantages secured by their residence ; Fijian visitors to Tonga had made report of these. With the White man's *lotu* came the White man's ships, bringing iron tools and other strange and precious things procurable by barter ; a regular store of the coveted goods would be put within reach of the king under whose shadow the Missionary lived. The European traders might be expected to frequent the islands with their wares—including the supremely desirable fire-arms and gunpowder—when their countrymen were safely settled there. The more intelligent Natives understood why their shores were so dreaded, and recognized the injury their shocking character was doing them. They wished to be on better terms with the White foreigners, of whose weapons and wealth they would fain share the possession.¹ The lesson of the rise of Mbau and Rewa was not lost upon the rest of Fiji. Something of the welcome extended to Cross and Cargill was also due, doubtless, to the fame which missionary medicine had acquired in Tonga. A few Tongan Christians were found in Fiji whose character adorned the Gospel ; but it would be ascribing too much to this handful of men to suppose that their influence, exerted for so short a time, had much to do with the widespread interest manifested at the landing of the first pair of Missionaries, and with the comparatively friendly and respectful way in which they were treated by this most barbarous of peoples. Hence the Gospel did not suffer in Fiji the rebuffs to which it was at first exposed in the Friendly Islands ; from the outset the Mission went steadily onwards, though far from rapidly in its early stages.

With the pioneers Cross and Cargill we have already become acquainted upon the Tongan field, where they had proved their quality. They worked side by side at Lakemba until the end of 1837, when Cross removed to the more central and populous region of the group. He intended to settle on Mbau, the island fortress of the most powerful Fijian king, to whom the king of Lakemba was tributary ; but turned aside to Rewa, an important town of the mainland (Viti Levu), a political rival of Mbau and about twenty miles distant from it by sea. Here

¹ Cargill tells in his journal how, within two months of the arrival of the Missionaries, the king of Lakemba offered ' to embrace Christianity, if our friends in England would send him so many muskets and so much powder as would make him more powerful than his enemies ! ' Failing this inducement, Tui Nuyau remained for ten years an incorrigible heathen.

William Cross landed with his family on January 8, 1838. The Mission was gravitating toward the centre of Fiji. The Cargills were left alone in Lakemba,¹ until the arrival of reinforcements from England at the end of the year 1838 made the extension of the work and the rearrangement of the diminutive force possible. Lakemba, which belonged almost as much to Tonga as Fiji, afforded little more than a point of approach to the heart of the latter country. So long as the Missionaries remained tied to this place they appeared to be under the patronage of the Tongan foreigners. They soon discovered, moreover, that the Lakemban dialect was an outlying and defective form of the Fijian language, and that they must advance beyond the windward group to accomplish much in the evangelization of the islands.

Though large amongst the windward cluster, Lakemba is but eight miles in length and about thirty in circumference, and had importance only in virtue of its convenient harbour and maritime situation. Its population was reckoned at four thousand. It formed a compact little Circuit, which the Missionaries speedily traversed, getting a foothold before long in a number of the villages, where they made friends and secured some sort of preaching-places. It was soon apparent that the influence of the king and leading chiefs of the island, however civil they might be in manner and wishful to profit by trade with the foreigners, was firmly opposed to the *lotu*; they discouraged their people from conversion. Tui Nuyau proved himself in religion very much of a time-server. For many years the Mission had to encounter a sustained, though more or less veiled, persecution, both in Lakemba itself and in the nearer subject islands, to which the Missionaries soon found their way. In the year 1836 a Society membership of 576 was reported from Fiji; this must have been a sanguine estimate, formed by the Missionaries on their arrival, of Tongan Methodist strength in the islands. Anyhow, at the next membership-return, two years later, the number is reduced to 131; in 1839 the total is but 353, the bulk of these being still Tongans. The Tongan population was constantly shifting. Cargill records at one point how his Society was reduced at one stroke by half through the return home of a company of carpenters on

¹ John Spinney figures in the Stations of 1836 as a third Fijian Missionary, but this worthy young man never reached his post; he died in Australia, obtaining only a glimpse of Fiji on his voyage thither from the Friendly Islands.

their finishing a contract of canoe-building which had occupied them in Fiji for a long while. The Lakemban Church was subject habitually to such fluctuations.

On March 20, 1836, Cargill writes in his journal: 'This forenoon my colleague and I baptized thirty-two adults, the first-fruits of the Gospel in Fiji.' They had passed through a careful catechumenate.

Some of these [he adds] embraced Christianity five or six years ago in the Tonga Islands; the rest have abandoned idolatry since their arrival in Fiji. All of them have been meeting in Class at least three months.

By this time there was a Methodist chapel in Lakemba, 'built,' writes Cargill, 'out of the materials of our late dwelling-houses'; these had been wrecked in a heavy storm. However hostile the king was, in his own mind, to the new religion, he did not fail in hospitality to his invited guests; he attended promptly to their needs in respect of habitation. Referring to this 'rude and temporary edifice,' which held a regular congregation of 200 people, the Missionary notes with satisfaction the reverence with which the heathen approached Christian worship. Similar observations are frequent in Cargill's record. The strangeness of form marking the new ritual was, no doubt, impressive; but the Fijian is peculiarly susceptible of religious awe, a characteristic to be counted to his credit. Early in January, 1836, Cargill gathered at the Lord's Table a company of eleven communicants, made up, as he relates, of Europeans, Tongans, and *Fijians*, so that more than one of the last-named nationality by this date had been received into the Church.¹ The Missionaries, who found the people very conversable, conversed and preached constantly in the two languages (many Fijians in Lakemba understood Tonguese), gradually gaining facility in the speech of the islands. Until they had become accomplished in Fijian it was useless to push their work beyond Lakemba. Schools were opened for both sexes, conducted by the Missionaries and their wives, which were attended by old as well as young. In a few months they felt themselves competent to offer instruction in Fijian as well as Tongan.² Some of the resident Tongans had learnt to read in their own islands,

¹ Some Fijians had become Christian converts in Tonga; those to whom he refers may have been of this class.

² Cargill had prepared two lesson-books in Fijian before leaving Vavau.

and their efficiency excited Fijian emulation ; the usefulness as well as the marvel of this acquirement appealed to the Native mind. Scholars were readily gathered, and were generally manageable and eager to learn. The authorities, who discountenanced conversion and the abandonment of heathen customs, made little objection to schools.

Indications were not wanting, however, of the fierce conflict awaiting the heralds of the Gospel in this land of ghastly superstition and bloodshed. Within three months of Cross and Cargill's arrival two storms of unusual violence occurred, in the first of which the frail dwellings assigned to the Missionaries were levelled, while buildings and crops throughout the islands were severely damaged. On both occasions the Native priests in the name of their gods ascribed the calamity to the presence of the foreign religion ; they called on the king and chiefs to have its emissaries banished and the pollution removed. Tui Nuyau was shrewd enough to ask why, on the theory of the priests, the hurricanes did not wreak their fury upon the adherents of the *lotu*, but visited the whole people impartially, and even on islands where the *lotu* was unknown. The opposers gained nothing by their attack ; these and similar incidents led to a wholesale criticism of the inspiration of the priests.

More dangerous hostility arose from the declining of Christians to work on the Sabbath and to pay the customary offering of first-fruits to the tutelary god of Lakemba. These refusals were viewed as acts of rebellion, and punished accordingly by some of the chiefs, others contenting themselves with threats against the recusants. The converts of the Mission were protected through the influence of a Tongan chief of great service to the king, who had some years previously accepted the Christian faith in his Native land, but in Fiji relapsed into heathenism. This backslider was now restored, and proved a tower of strength to the infant Church. Petty annoyances, however, were multiplied, and grew into a systematic persecution, unrestrained by the king, which culminated before long in open attacks by bands of heathen upon two little towns whose principal inhabitants had accepted *lotu* ; they suffered every kind of wrong and outrage short of the forfeiture of their lives. This deed of terrorism frightened many of the half-decided and winnowed the Church. A goodly remnant stood

fast. The patient and forgiving spirit manifested by the Christians, and their cheerful loyalty to the Government which had used them so ill, were moral phenomena absolutely new, and almost uncanny in Fijian eyes. No preaching or spoken testimony could have touched the popular mind so deeply as did this perfect abstinence from revenge.

Some who had suffered the loss of all things, and banishment for Christ's sake, were at last permitted to return to their homes, where they found themselves greeted with a strange respect.

Among the exiles was 'a man of noble and vigorous character, a Fijian named Moses Vakaloloma,' who was subsequently made a Local Preacher. Vakololoma's wife was a kindred spirit, and his family became the centre of a salutary and widely extended Christian influence. Despite all resistance, the *lotu* took root through the island of Lakemba. From amongst the more advanced and capable of the converts Scripture-readers, Exhorters, and Class-leaders were forthcoming. The nucleus of a Methodist Church was created. At the end of 1836 the Missionaries baptized 79 additional men and women, and 17 children; 280 knelt in communion at the Supper of the Lord, out of whom 80 were recent arrivals from Tonga. Were it only to provide for the stream of emigrants from the Friendly Islands the Mission was bound to occupy Lakemba. This necessity had made the new-born Tongan Church eager to further the advance upon Fiji and ready to furnish auxiliaries.

Beside the persecutions assailing their growing flock, domestic trials and anxieties of no common aggravation fell upon the Missionaries. The pilfering of the Natives, though less shameless and habitual than that experienced in New Zealand and Tonga, was a serious evil and cause of loss, from which the king afforded uncertain protection. The Fijians made poor domestic servants, unhandy and careless; life within and about the house was often harassing in the last degree to the first settlers. At the same time nothing was more interesting to the Native onlookers than the domestic doings of the White folk; and few things were more important in their moral effect than patience and good temper, and an exemplary family behaviour, in face of daily and hourly provocation. The fenced garden out of doors, as well as the

rooms within, which the Natives found all sorts of excuses to enter, were constant object-lessons of order, neatness, and comfort—lessons not lost upon a people of natural intelligence, and with rudiments of good taste in their constitution. The failure of English supplies added greatly to the other troubles of the missionary colony in its first year at Lakemba. Provisions had to be purchased, service remunerated, and the presents made which Fijian custom dictated, by means of ‘trade’—i.e. articles of barter in demand by the Natives—of which the Missionaries kept a varied stock by them. The expenses of settlement had been underestimated, and the store grew empty. Amongst other mishaps, the flour in the bin turned musty—no small calamity for English stomachs imperfectly acclimatized to Fijian food. Difficulties of provisioning were increased by the visits of important chiefs, who came from various districts of Fiji, some of them on purpose to see the Mission. To these hospitality must be shown, and such gifts offered as Native etiquette required. Now and then, too, the arrival of a British ship made demands on the missionary establishment welcome in their nature, but adding to its embarrassment in seasons of straitness.

Such an occasion happened in June, 1836, when the *Active*, after landing five Missionaries at Tonga, came on to Lakemba. On returning south the vessel was wrecked not far from that port; the escaped mariners, whose lives would in former days have been forfeit, were thrown on the care of their fellow countrymen. Happily the supplies, along with home letters for Lakemba, had been safely landed, and the destitution of the Mission families, previously acute, had been relieved before this sad tax came on their resources. The visitors repaid their entertainers by work done upon the Mission premises, which put them for the first time into a satisfactory condition in the way of furniture and fittings. Four of the rescued sailors, being impatient of delay, and hoping to meet a European vessel earlier amongst the Leeward Islands, despite grave warnings, made off in that direction in a small boat they had secured. The very next day they were espied by a company of cannibals, were butchered and devoured; the result of the adventure, when contrasted with the treatment afforded to the ship’s crew farther south, was a startling proof of the difference made by missionary labour in these seas. Before the end of the year a

British man-of-war visited Fiji, to inquire into the massacre. Captain Crozier, the commander of this vessel, who on his way had called at Vavau and conveyed from there a further much-needed replenishment for the Lakemba stores, accepted the assistance of the Missionaries in his investigations. Through their mediation the intended punishment was lightened, an event redounding to the honour of the Mission, and no less to the fame of British moderation and leniency.

The experiences of privation due to the cost of living at Lakemba, and the infrequency of communication, were repeated in the following year (1837). A colonial brig had been chartered to convey supplies to the Friendly Islands District, in which Fiji was then included; but its captain refused to proceed farther than Vavau—the fate of the *Active* and her murdered sailors terrified his men.

Presently a Tongan canoe reached Lakemba, bearing letters and the provoking information that the stores were lying to spoil within four hundred miles!

The failure of this ship to appear, and the timidity of its crew, produced an unfortunate effect on the Fijian mind, while they brought the missionary families to the last stage of want. It was a time of general scarcity in Lakemba; the fishing and crops had largely failed, and food was at high prices. The barter-store was emptied. The Missionaries had to part with wearing-apparel, crockery, cooking utensils—everything in their houses that was saleable. The Native Christians had enough to do to find subsistence for themselves. The king and heathen chiefs looked on, content, as it seemed, to watch the Mission being starved out. Its own people would not come to its help; why should he trouble himself? Only at the close of 1837 relief came from Tonga, when the Crosses and Cargills, with their little children, were nigh to desperation.

By this time the health of Mr. Cross, never robust since the illness he had suffered in Tonga, was much broken. He hoped to find some spot in Fiji more favourable to his constitution than Lakemba, and invitations to make a home elsewhere were not wanting. Reports had spread far of the friendly behaviour of the White men of the *lotu*, and of the benefits accruing from their residence. Other chiefs were envious of the King of Lakemba. Messages came, in particular, from the powerful courts of Mbau and Somosomo, promising friendship and

shelter to the Missionary who would settle at either of these capitals. Lakemba lay on the circumference and fringe of Fiji, and policy dictated the carrying of the Gospel as soon as might be to its dominant centres. When urged to decide for Christianity, Tui Nuyau repeatedly made the excuse that he dare not move without the consent of the greater chiefs. Let the Missionaries secure the adhesion of Mbau or Rewa or Somosomo, then tributary kings like himself might begin to think about adopting the *lotu* ! Until the Mission had touched the larger islands, and struck root in purely Fijian soil, it could not be counted as firmly established, nor hope to win the body of the nation for Christ.

Mbau and the other leading towns named were centres of heathen superstition as well as of chiefly dominion ; their rulers were notorious for deeds of blood and cannibal ruthlessness. These were indeed ' dark places of the earth, full of habitations of cruelty ' ; the abominations witnessed by the Missionaries in Lakemba were mild and ordinary scenes compared to the horrors reported from Somosomo and Mbau. They could not be deterred by such a prospect ; what had they come to Fiji for but to confront the worst of its wickedness ? The rule of the Methodist ministry was to ' go to those who need you most.' It was determined, therefore, at the end of 1837, that Mr. and Mrs. Cross should remove to the inner islands, seeking a settlement at Mbau by preference, if the way proved open for residence there. So difficult was it at that time to find passage that Cross had to pay £125 for transport to the master of the only European ship which visited the Fijis during this season. The movements resulting from this step will be related in the next chapter. Cross and Cargill had laboured together for a little more than two years at Lakemba, gaining their apprenticeship to Fijian work and laying the foundation-stones of Fijian Christianity. With their separation the Mission to Fiji entered upon its second stage.

For another year, assisted only by Tongan helpers, Cargill wrought in and around Lakemba, with hardly earned and slowly increasing success, until in December, 1838, three young Missionaries, each bringing a wife, arrived from England. Their coming put the Mission on a new footing. Fiji was now constituted a separate District, which held its first Synod in January, 1839, at Lakemba, under the Chairmanship of David Cargill.

VI

HUNT, CALVERT, AND LYTH

A powerful Appeal—The Response of the Church—Richard Burdsall Lyth—John Hunt—James Calvert—A Missionary Heroine—Christian Literature—Thakombau—The Rewan Mission—David Cargill—A Round of Inspection—Fire and Sword—Somosomo—Hopeful Signs unfulfilled—The Fate of Sodom—Ono—A Case of Betrothal—Lakemba again—Conversion of Verani—Revival—Death of John Hunt.

IN the *Missionary Notices* for February, 1838,¹ there appeared a heart-moving appeal on behalf of Fiji written by James Watkin, at this time labouring in Tonga, which gave powerful expression to the concern of the Friendly Islands Missionaries for the neighbouring group. The Fijian Mission had now been for two years in operation. William Cross and David Cargill, its first adventurers, had secured a footing in the islands, and had found doors of entrance which, if not yet to be called 'great and effectual,' were sufficiently wide to invite all the labourers Methodism could send to this blood-stained land. The Missionary Committee, in issuing Watkin's appeal, apologized for some of its statements as 'almost too horrible for publicity,' informing the readers that they

have omitted several disgusting particulars included in the original communication, and that neither the whole nor the worst is here told in detail. But as such abominations do exist [they add] it would be a criminal delicacy that would withhold the substance of these communications from the public view. . . . They may shock our feelings ; but no matter for that, if they do but teach us our duty and stimulate us to a due performance of it.

This cry came from hearts anguish-stricken by near and habitual converse with the horrors of unbridled cannibalism, and with skill to sound the proper notes and to reach the conscience of home Methodism.

¹ Vol. IX., p. 25.

After introducing his plea, the writer says :

Let all the horrors of a cannibal feast be present to your minds while you read ; and if you love your species (and we know you do), ' put on bowels of mercies ' and hasten to send more Missionaries to Fiji, that its inhabitants may be saved from literally ' biting and devouring one another.' You must not, for the love of God and for the love of souls, dare to refuse our petition ; we feel persuaded that you will not !

The petitioner reminds his readers of the response they have made to appeals that have come to them ' on behalf of the burning widows from the East ' and of ' the manacled slave from the West.' The cry ' Pity poor Africa,' he continues,

has often been heard by you, and not heard unheeded ; the tear of compassion has flowed, the heart of compassion has been almost ready to burst with the intensity of feeling, and the hand, with such a prompter, has done liberal things. And now we cry, ' Pity poor Fiji ; and do it speedily ! ' The case has been too long neglected, and has grown almost desperate.

He answers those who propose remedies for the case :

' Introduce commerce among them,' say some, ' and that will remove or prevent the evils complained of.' Alas ! brethren, that plan has been tried for years ; and are they morally better for it ? Nay, verily ! for whenever they can, they kill and eat their commercial visitors. ' But introduce,' say others, ' the arts of life ; teach them to sow and plant and build, to read and write, to clothe themselves instead of going naked, to live at peace instead of making war. In a word, *civilize* them ; and then the evils you deplore will be removed.' But where are the apostles of mere civilization who will venture on this experiment ? Who that has not a missionary soul will be willing to brave the danger of the enterprise ? Who, for problematical success, would make the necessary sacrifices ? Not one can be found ! But the Missionary of the Cross, with higher motives and heavenly support, will do all this and more ! He will *Christianize* them ; and civilization will follow by consequence.

Mr. Watkin dilates, with some exaggeration due to the imperfect statistics then available, upon the number and population of the Fiji Islands, and compares with this magnitude the two or three Missionaries hitherto forthcoming. ' At least five stations,' he says, are already marked out, ' which might be advantageously occupied,' each of them requiring a couple of Missionaries. He urges the necessity for haste. He

particularizes his appeal, addressing it in turn to the different classes of the missionary constituency, and, repeating the other calls which greet the ears of the awakened Church, he adds this latest poignant and compelling entreaty : '*Pity, oh, pity cannibal Fiji !*'

The voice crying from the islands of the sea rang through the Church with signal effect. Its people were sensitive to the cries of human misery and heathen degradation as they have not always been in later decades ; they were still in the freshness of their first love toward the missionary cause, and possessed by the fervour aroused in them through the long-sustained and recently successful struggle for the abolition of slavery. Few messages from abroad have so immediately and intensely affected the Missionary Committee and the Church at large. The source from which it came gave additional momentum to the challenge, for the amazing revival of religion recently witnessed in Tonga had much enhanced the influence of the Tonga missionary staff. The fact that the attention of Methodism at home was thus fastened upon Fiji goes to account for the ignoring of Peter Turner's glorious success in Samoa, and of the Samoan claim upon the Church domiciled in the Friendly Islands. James Watkin's appeal created the bond which linked the Fijis abidingly to the sympathies of British Methodism, it set in train the course of events which led in forty years' time to the attachment of these islands to the British Crown. The March *Notices* of 1838 report the 'feeling of intense interest and compassion' awakened by Mr. Watkin's circular in all parts of the Connexion. A couple of families in a certain county, hearing it read at the Missionary Prayer-meeting, agreed to give themselves £120, augmenting this sum to £200 by the aid of their friends,

if the more affluent friends of the cause in other counties will make up their £200 into £2,000, by sums of £10 and upwards, so as to provide at once for the outfit and passage of six Missionaries and their wives to be sent forthwith to the help of Messrs. Cross and Cargill.

In another small family, 'two of the members,' listening to the address, 'immediately doubled their subscriptions to the general fund of the Society.' These were samples of incidents repeated in every District of Methodism as the cry 'Pity poor

Fiji!' sounded forth. In the same issue of the *Notices* the Missionary Committee announces that

by a friendly arrangement with the Directors of the London Missionary Society, dictated on both sides by principles of Christian prudence and catholic generosity,¹ the work of evangelizing, and thereby civilizing, the large population of the Fiji Islands is wholly and exclusively assigned to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. On that Society, therefore, a solemn responsibility now devolves, and it must be met by suitable exertions, so that 'the blessing of them that are ready to perish' may come upon us, as assuredly 'the curse of Meroz' will overtake us for neglecting to 'come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

The two Fijian Missionaries had asked for a reinforcement of *ten*; *four* were promised them by the Committee. Two of these were to be drafted from other South Sea stations, and two young men were to be sent out as speedily as possible from England; to the latter number a third was added before the end of the year.

Further reinforcements must depend upon the promptitude and extent of the pecuniary efforts which may be made to augment the general funds of the Society.

The Committee had reason to fear, at this as at other junctures of a similar kind, lest a temporary burst of sympathy should lead to the contribution of large donations earmarked for some specific object, the expenditure of which might involve the Society in burdens too great for its normal income.

John Spinney and Matthew Wilson (from Tonga) were the colleagues already in the field destined by the Mission House for the help of Cross and Cargill. The former of these excellent men was already suffering from consumption; on his arrival at Lakemba he had to be sent to Australia, where shortly afterwards he died. Circumstances compelled Wilson's retention on the Tongan staff; in his place the young physician-missionary, Richard Burdsall Lyth, was sent from the Friendly Islands, arriving in July, 1839. His accession was a timely providence for the work in Fiji. The name of Lyth stands at the head of this chapter as that of one of the three great Missionaries who worked side by side for nine years, linked in a

¹ This is a reference to the compact of two years earlier, by which the W.M.M.S. agreed to retire from Samoa and the L.M.S. from Fiji, each in favour of the companion Society.

friendship singularly close and sacred ; these were the chief creators, under God, of Fijian Christianity. Lyth's eminent comrades, though by two years his juniors in the ministry, reached Fiji before him ; he started, however, with the advantage of an apprenticeship on the kindred field of Tonga. A grandson of Richard Burdsall, the famous early Methodist Local Preacher of York, and trained for the medical profession, his breeding and education conferred on R. B. Lyth¹ a rare outfit for the calling to which he devoted himself. His devotion was of the purest and noblest kind. The writer remembers when a little boy seeing Father Lyth at his grandfather's table, and never lost the impression of the sanctity and lovable-ness of the aged Missionary's aspect, of his gentle and quiet bearing and his ripe wisdom. He was a man of great and varied ability, and of equal modesty ; not a demonstrative speaker, but a most effective *doer*, strong, patient, wise, considerate, a good physician both for soul and body. The Fijians, who learned to love him well, and who found behind his mild manner resolute firmness for which their ferocity was no match, dubbed him ' the carpenter of sickness.' Again and again his colleagues and their families owed to Mr. Lyth's skill and prompt assistance escape from the most perilous physical emergencies. The cures he effected went far to make the reputation of the Fiji Mission. Though never on the official footing of a medical Missionary, and strictly subordinating therapeutic to evangelistic interests, Richard Lyth was one of the most effective, as he was the earliest, of the qualified medical Missionaries of Methodism. He developed, moreover, a peculiar aptitude for the training of Native catechists and teachers ; his stations at Lakemba and Viwa became seminaries for rearing Fijian Preachers. Beside all this Lyth was an accurate and thorough linguist, and took a large share in the labours of Bible-translation, supplying invaluable criticism and correction to the work of his colleagues, while he made original contributions in this field.

After sixteen years of unsparing labour in Fiji, during the last five of which he was Chairman of the District, Richard Lyth's strength failed him, and he was compelled to withdraw. For three years he occupied the less taxing but honourable

¹ His accomplished younger brother, Dr. John Lyth, for six years conducted the Methodist Mission in Germany. The name of Lyth has been fragrant in York Methodism for four generations.

post of Governor to the school for Missionaries' children in Auckland, New Zealand. Thence he returned to England in 1858, to devote himself to Bible revision. From 1869-73 he ministered as Chaplain to the British forces at Gibraltar, finally retiring from active service at the close of this term. Like his companion, James Calvert, Richard Lyth was spared to see length of days and to rejoice over the triumph of the Gospel in his loved Fiji. He died in his native city on February 17, 1887, at the age of seventy-seven, full of years and 'satisfied with favour.'

The two fresh Missionaries designated for Fiji at the beginning of 1839 were Thomas James Jaggar and John Hunt. The former, a compositor by trade, was chosen in response to Cargill's request for a printing-press and aid in its management. The press was shipped, along with the appointed workman. Jaggar was a man of energy and zeal, a Preacher of considerable force and of good general ability, who for some years 'ran well' in the Fijian Mission; but through temptation he fell out of the ranks at a time of sore need. In John Hunt's appointment Mrs. Brackenbury, of Raithby Hall, who had been stirred by the piteous cry from Fiji, was personally interested. This lady—the venerable widow of the preaching Lincolnshire squire, John Wesley's friend—offered to bear the expense of young Hunt's outfit and passage and to contribute to his maintenance abroad, on condition that the Society would send out a second companion with him, thus raising to *seven* the number of Missionaries assigned to Fiji. The Committee gladly met Mrs. Brackenbury's wishes, and James Calvert, John Hunt's fellow student at Hoxton, was selected to make the third of the Fijian expedition. Calvert and Hunt were already drawn to each other at college; the new comradeship knit their hearts in one of the most intimate and hallowed friendships the Methodist ministry has known. Both were missionary volunteers; neither had contemplated Fiji as his destination. Hunt's eyes were bent on South Africa; Calvert's thoughts had turned to the Navigators' Islands! On the news arriving two years before this date of Peter Turner's work in Samoa,¹ and of his request for a Missionary-printer, Calvert, then a Local Preacher, who as well as Jaggar was

¹ See chap. iv. The Wesleyan Missionary Committee had not at this time made public the evacuation by its forces of the Navigators' Islands.

versed in this art, had suggested that he might be of service there. However, when the call came for Fiji the missionary authorities laid their hands on these companion students as the fittest for the bold enterprise on foot. In both instances the choice was amply justified.

John Hunt was one of those men of hidden genius whom Methodism has discovered in the humbler ranks of rural life, and who have rendered, through the scope her ministry afforded for their faculties, high and enduring benefits to their generation. His father rose scarcely above the position of an agricultural labourer; in his childhood the family suffered actual destitution. Set to farm-work at the age of ten, when he had barely learnt to read and write, the boy became the butt of his rough companions on account of his physical delicacy and unhandiness. With a brave heart he surmounted ridicule, and bade fair to be a first-rate farming-man. But the youth was dreaming of other things. In early life his father had served as a soldier; many a stirring tale of foreign lands and deeds of valour he would tell on winter nights. The stories set John building airy castles of military prowess and glory.

At the age of sixteen Hunt's mind took another turn. Though unable to read, and untaught in the way of the Gospel, his parents had imbued their children with the elements of piety, and the lad believed earnestly in prayer and providence. An alarming illness led him to read his Bible and to seek God's mercy. On returning to his work, he found a Methodist fellow labourer, engaged by the farmer during his absence, who entered into his changed aspiration, and who took him to the Wesleyan chapel, to which from this time he attached himself. For many months he remained a painful seeker of salvation, until on his removal to a distant village he came under the powerful ministry of John Smith, the revivalist, through whose teaching he was brought into the clear light of faith. In the house of the next employer—an intelligent and godly man—a store of good books was accessible. His slumbering faculties awoke; new worlds of mental vision and power opened before him. He had reached the age of nineteen knowing nothing of literature beyond the Bible, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, part of the *Methodist Magazine* for 1812, and a few cheap tracts. His farmwork began at times to suffer from absence of mind, as

when one morning, under orders to take a load of corn to Newark, he started off with horses yoked to an empty wagon ! His master, an observant and kindly man, saw that deep things were working in John's soul, and forthwith insisted on his preaching to the villagers when the chapel was left unsupplied. The neighbours, who knew the lad's devoted piety, were gratified and blessed by the words stumblingly spoken. From that evening Hunt was launched upon a country Local Preacher's course. His good master cheered him on under the sense of his ignorance and uncouthness, saying : ' If the Lord calls thee to work, He'll give thee tools to work with.'

Through many inward struggles and some failures Hunt advanced from strength to strength. ' The noble vigour and earnestness of his character ' shone out beneath his rude exterior ; ' he soon became a favourite with the village congregations.' An evening school furnished means of mental improvement of which he made painstaking use. The Lincolnshire country-folk, lovers of good preaching in the dialect, flocked to hear this son of the soil ; many hearts were moved by his simple yet commanding and appealing utterance. His Superintendent Minister, happening to enter Hunt's congregation on a certain Sunday in 1833, discerned the uncommon powers stirring in this farm-labourer, and destined him at once for the Preacher's calling. The shy ploughman shrank from the thought of the ministry ; but he confessed his ' ambition,' as he put it, ' to go to the Cape as a servant to Laidman Hodgson,' the Missionary who had lately visited this district and had won the lad's affection. ' He might do gardening for the Missionary, and help perhaps a little in teaching in the Sunday school and preaching to the English settlers.' This modest answer confirmed the Minister's convictions, and he took measures to enlarge John Hunt's opportunities for study. With such aid the young ploughman made rapid progress in culture and in pulpit-power. He was welcome in the city no less than in country congregations ; ' sometimes the whole audience bowed before the uplifting of that hard, rough hand, and sobs and tears responded to those earnest though ungrammatical appeals.'¹

¹ *Life of John Hunt, Missionary to the Cannibals*, chap. iv. This story, so well told by George Stringer Rowe, of one of the noblest and most heroic sons of our Church, whose life was a splendid adventure for Christ, should be republished, and read by every young Methodist.

In 1835 William Smith, the Minister above mentioned, proposed Hunt to the Mission House for foreign service. The Secretaries, who had smiled at Mr. Smith's high-flown commendation of a Lincolnshire rustic, were compelled on the candidate's appearance before them to share his wonder. Hunt was sent to the newly-opened Theological Institution at Hoxton, where his intellect opened out into its strength and compass. His natural taste enabled him to form an excellent English style, and to shake off the awkwardness of the countryman ; he laid the foundations of an exact knowledge of the sacred languages and of Christian theology. His ministry affected London congregations only less than those of his native district ;

as he stood up to preach everything about him struck the observers with the sense of power. His tall and well-proportioned frame—massive but not stout, broad of chest and large of limb—was the true type of the soul within.

He stood out amongst his fellows by head and shoulders in native force and capacity, while his humility and genial brotherliness made him even more loved than admired, by comrades and teachers alike. William Arthur, who was a fellow student, testifies to the ' profound respect and affection which Hunt inspired at Hoxton.'

It was with the thought of service in South Africa that Hunt had devoted his life to the missionary cause. This hope he had been permitted to cherish until the close of his brief college course of two years and a half. The Hoxton students shared the eagerness of the Church to save Fiji, Hunt no less than others ; but he regarded himself as pledged to Africa, and it was a shock to learn that the Missionary Committee had chosen him for the new field. When a friend condoled with him, speaking of the perils and horrors of a life amongst cannibals, he exclaimed : ' Oh, that's not it ! ' ' What is it then ? ' said his companion. With a sob at last he replied : ' I'll tell you what it is. That poor girl in Lincolnshire will never go with me to Fiji ; her mother will never consent ! ' For six years he had faithfully loved Hannah Summers ; she had consented to share his lot anywhere ; but *this* destination had not been contemplated. For her, not for himself, the young man trembled. As it proved, Hannah had

no more hesitation than her lover ; and the mother, though fearful at heart, would not stand in the way. They were married on March 6. Before the end of this month the three designates for Fiji were ordained. They set sail on April 29, reached Sydney on August 24, and finally anchored at Lakemba on Saturday, December 22, 1838, having spent two months in the Australian port, where they transhipped, and ten days *en route* in the Friendly Islands.

The pages that follow will relate John Hunt's career in Fiji. He died at the age of thirty-six, on October 4, 1848, having accomplished in ten years the work of a lifetime. His body lies in the missionary graveyard at Viwa.

James Calvert, third of our Fijian trio, like Richard Lyth, was a Yorkshireman. He was born at Pickering. During his infancy the family removed to the neighbourhood of Malton ; there he came under the influences which determined his character and future course. Like Hunt, he, too, was a son of the soil ; his circumstances in youth were, however, more favourable than those of Hunt, and his schooling better. Apprenticed to a Malton printer and bookseller at the age of fourteen, Calvert was put in the way of acquiring knowledge. First his mother's death, then a severe illness befalling himself when seventeen years old, led him to seek after God. His conversion, culminating a year after, in 1831, was a very definite and decisive new birth. Two years later he began to preach, at the solicitation of those over him in the Lord ; and after four years of Local Preachership he was nominated for the ministry from Colchester, whither he had removed in pursuing his occupation. Here he was led to interest himself in the South Sea Missions, particularly in the work of Peter Turner in Samoa. His business training was completed by some months spent in the office of James Nichols, the well-known Methodist printer in London, where, through the assistance of a friendly student of medicine, he obtained access to a metropolitan hospital. With his quick discernment and practical insight he obtained by this means a grasp of the principles of anatomy and therapeutics of great value to him in after years. Conscious of the inadequacy of his mental outfit, he had begged to be allowed a full course of training ; nevertheless he was designated in February, 1838, after seventeen months at the Theological Institution, to accompany

Hunt and Jaggar to Fiji, and sailed along with these brethren two months later. The souls of Hunt and Calvert were knit together on the voyage like those of David and Jonathan.

James Calvert's was a comparatively simple nature. He had not the intellectual force and range of his associate, nor his peculiar intensity of spirit and commanding personality ; but his mind was sound and vigorous ; his heart was both large and warm in its affections, and formed for friendship. His good humour, buoyancy of spirit, and bonhomie made him lovable in all circles. He excelled in shrewdness and good sense, and in the art of dealing with his fellows. Nothing escaped his observation, and his judgement of men and of circumstances was rarely at fault.

Common sense, robust and quick [says William Arthur in describing him], with feeling both intense and tender, backed by a vigorous will, gave you a man of clear purpose and forcible impulse, prompt in decision, swift of step, ready of speech, and capable of a tear.

The equal of his friend in courage and self-reliance, he possessed powers of physical endurance which proved to be greater. James Calvert had his share of the Yorkshireman's independence and outspokenness ; he never feared to stand alone, or to do battle for what he judged to be right against any odds.

Calvert, like his companion, went out to Fiji taking a wife with him ; those on the field strongly deprecated the sending to this quarter of unmarried Missionaries. Previously to the unexpected call to Fiji he had little thought of wedlock. He had, however, visited the home of his college friend, Philip Fowler,¹ and when he understood that he must seek a helpmeet his heart turned to Mary Fowler. The courtship was short but very satisfactory. Mary Calvert (as she now became) was a match for her husband in missionary zeal and in all his best qualities of heart and mind. She shared the toils of his first period of seventeen years' labour in Fiji, came home with him to England in 1855, and returned to the Fijian work five years later.

¹ Philip Fowler (1839-1887) was amongst the choicest of the distinguished band of Hoxton students and filled an honoured place in the home ministry. His son, James Calvert Fowler, gave four years' missionary service to India. Driven home by loss of health, he proved himself a Preacher of force and distinction ; but his constitution was permanently impaired, and he survived his father only by two years.

When declining strength enforced their quitting the tropics in 1864, after a few years of recuperation the Calverts, at the call of the Missionary Society, made a new pilgrimage to South Africa. In various parts of this arduous field Mr. Calvert wrought for eight years (1872-1880), exercising a wise fatherly influence amidst the rush of new population, the clash of races, and the fever of gainseeking, which ran high at that period. His presence did much to give stability to Methodist Church life in South Africa, and prepared the way for the establishment of the Colonial Conference, set up in 1882. In going to and fro Mr. Calvert had spent a considerable time in Australia ; he was amongst the most welcome and popular Methodist visitors to that continent.

Mrs. Calvert's health, which had been wonderfully sustained through all the trials of their work in Fiji, gave way during the closing years of the sojourn in South Africa, and she died shortly after their return to England. Her life-story has been related by the skilful pen of George Stringer Rowe.¹ The name of *Mary Calvert* ranks amongst the heroines of Christian Missions. James Calvert was spared to his Church to a hale old age. In 1885 the Jubilee arrived of the coming of the Gospel to Fiji. Calvert felt the liveliest interest in the celebration, but could only participate in it from a distance. Next year, finding himself in more vigorous health, he determined, at his own expense, and though now in his seventy-third year, to revisit the South Seas. In the forty-eight years since his first voyage the length of the journey had been reduced from eight months to two ! One of the motives which prompted the undertaking was the hope of ending the schism which had rent the Methodist Church in the Friendly Islands. On reaching Fiji, where he landed at Suva on July 19, Calvert proceeded forthwith to Tonga upon this errand. In the old days he had been intimately acquainted with King George Tubou, and still counted upon his friendship. To his sore disappointment, he failed to reconcile the aged king and the ' Free Church ' of his establishment to the parent Mission. His sojourn of a month in Tonga did something, however, to mitigate the strife. Returning to Fiji at the end of August, he revisited the scenes of his early

¹ *The Life of Mary Calvert*. This little book is a model of biography, and should be prized as a Methodist classic. A biography of her husband from the same pen, under the title *James Calvert of Fiji*, appeared in 1893. Mr. Stringer Rowe devoted his literary gifts especially to the South Seas Missions.

ministry, preaching everywhere to English and Natives so far as strength allowed, and noting with gratitude to God the wonderful changes for good effected in the islands within his lifetime. At this date Fiji had been incorporated in the British Empire for seven years ; but King Thakombau, with whose conversion Calvert's labours in Fiji had culminated, had passed away. On the last day of September the old Missionary set his face homeward once more. He crossed the Pacific by way of New Zealand and Honolulu, and traversed by rail the American continent, receiving much hospitality on the way, and speaking to crowds of hearers on the things of God and the scenes of his life-work. He landed at Liverpool safe and sound exactly six months after starting on his journey. For nearly six years longer the life of this great Missionary was extended. To the last he was in great request for missionary gatherings, to which his stalwart and venerable figure, his frank and hearty utterance, and graphic stories of Fiji, furnished a unique contribution. By a sudden stroke he was summoned away on March 8, 1892. His latest years were spent at Hastings, where his body lies, and where the 'Calvert Memorial Chapel' preserves his memory.

No account of James Calvert would be complete without reference to his labours on the Fijian Bible. John Hunt laid the foundation of the work, completing before he died the original translation of the New Testament, and leaving in manuscript a rendering of considerable parts of the Old. Cargill had previously printed a Fijian rendering of St. Mark. Calvert inherited this sacred task from his friend. Other Missionaries collaborated with these, Richard B. Lyth, David Hazlewood, and Thomas Williams in particular ; the work underwent much revision in detail before it was committed to the press. James Calvert, however, had a special knowledge of vernacular idioms, and skill in turning Native help to account. His apprenticeship to the printer's trade had also gone to qualify him for editorship. He returned to England in 1855 in order to superintend, at the instance of the Bible Society, the production of the first complete edition of the Fijian Scriptures. For forty years this business, in one shape or other, was constantly in his hands. In 1890 he revised for the Bible Society, and read the proofs, of the Fijian New Testament in its seventh edition. 'About the same time he

carried through the press a Hymn-book, catechism, and a Book of Offices, all in the Fijian language.' The publishing of Hunt's precious *Letters on Entire Sanctification* (in English), which were written at Calvert's request and addressed in the first instance privately to him, and of Hunt's theological lectures to his pupils (in Fijian), were due to his friend's affectionate care. More than any other man, James Calvert was the creator of Fijian literature. A faithful servant of the Bible Society, he was amongst its most effective advocates through life, pleading its cause wherever opportunity offered and in all sorts of company.

The three men above described were not the only Fijian Missionaries of note during their time, but they were the most notable ; in their hands the chief interests of the Mission were placed ; on their counsel and action its main movements turned during the forties and early fifties, when the power of heathenism was broken in Fiji. In anticipation of the coming of helpers from home their predecessors had already divided the field between them. Cross in the beginning of 1838 had established himself at Rewa, while Cargill remained at the original station of Lakemba, the centre by this time of a growing Circuit. The rival towns of Mbau and Rewa were but twenty miles distant, the former situated on an islet close to the east coast of Viti Levu, the latter twelve miles up the large river debouching on the south-east of the mainland. These two capitals disputed the dominion of Viti Levu and the outlying islands ; at present they were on terms of precarious alliance—Rewa had harboured King Tanoa (who was now restored) in his banishment from Mbau. William Cross had sailed from Lakemba intending to settle at Mbau, from which the Missionaries had received hopeful overtures.

A sanguinary revolution took place at Mbau not long before this time. The old King Tanoa had some years earlier been driven into exile by a conspiracy of subordinate chiefs. His sons were massacred, except the stripling Seru, who was regarded as a harmless youth. Under a guise of simplicity Seru concealed extraordinary craft and daring. He bided his time, weaving a skilful counterplot, until on a certain dark night, with a band of accomplices, he fired the town of Mbau and cut down his helpless enemies as they rushed out to escape the flames. Through this exploit the dynasty was re-established,

and Tanoa was placed on his throne. Cross happened to arrive during the cannibal orgy by which the restoration was celebrated. Tha-ko-mbau (*Evil-to-Mbau*, the name conferred on the hero of the *coup d'état*) received his visitor with courtesy, and offered him land for a house, but advised delay in the settlement. The spectacle which met the Missionary as he stepped on shore was, however, so shocking, and the excitement prevailing at Mbau appeared so unfavourable for his work, that he withdrew, to seek entrance at Rewa instead. The King of Rewa, who was flattered by the preference, offered protection and land ; he promised that his people should be free to accept *lotu*. The Mission thus gained a footing on the mainland of Viti Levu, at one of the chief centres of Fijian influence. Mbau felt itself slighted by the change of plan ; it was many years before any Missionary was allowed to live within this town.

It was hoped that the change of location would benefit Mr. Cross's health, which had declined in Lakemba. This hope was fulfilled. The dwelling at first assigned to him in Rewa was small and damp ; he was brought by fever and cholera to death's door, and owed his restoration to the help of David Whippy, an American settler of Ovalau, who for many years was active in Fijian affairs and in various ways befriended the Mission. The king now set about building a proper house for the Missionary ; a school was also started on Cross's recovery from sickness, and the Mission began to make headway. The conversion of a leading chief provided a suitable preaching-room at Rewa, and a congregation, sometimes numbering a hundred persons, was gathered for Christian worship. Persecution inevitably arose, instigated especially by the king's brother ; but the royal power was used to protect the Christians ; there was hope that Rewa would be won for Christ. When, on the arrival of the three young men from England at the close of the year, the Synod was held, it was agreed that Hunt should go at once to Rewa with a view to relieving Cross. But by this time Cross's health had improved, and he could not think of leaving the Hunts alone amongst savages, whose speech they had yet to learn. Jaggar and Calvert remained at Lakemba, working at the language. The printing-press brought by the new-comers was set up ; Cargill had material prepared for it ; the Gospel according to Mark and the First Wesleyan Catechism were printed early in 1839.

For the press to be so quickly brought into use in a totally new language was unprecedented. Cargill's versions left much to be desired ; the astonishing thing was that they should be forthcoming at this date.

The Rewan Mission had already received an important extension. Within sight of Mbau is the island of Viwa, then ruled by Namosimalua, a powerful sub-king of the Mbauan dominion. This potentate, though a monster of crime, was one of the most discerning men in Fiji—the Ulysses of island politics. He advised the destruction of Seru when his father Tanoa was overthrown at Mbau, but afterwards worked successfully for Tanoa's restoration. Some time back Namosimalua had been implicated, along with his nephew Verani,¹ in the destruction of a French trading-vessel on the coast, whose crew were devoured by their captors. For this crime Viwa was laid in ashes by a French ship-of-war early in 1838, and the king fled for his life to the mainland. ' This calamity brought Namosimalua to consideration, and made him look anxiously to the *lotu*.' He sent a respectful message to Rewa asking for a Christian teacher, and announced to Tanoa his intention to accept *lotu*. Knowing Namosimalua's reputation, Cross hesitated to oblige him, but finally consented. The teacher was well received ; a chapel was built for him, where the king himself worshipped, discarding cannibalism and the heathen practices, and encouraging his people to learn the White man's religion. His sincerity was doubtful, and he never conformed thoroughly to the faith he professed ; but a change certainly took place in Namosimalua's disposition, and in the main he consistently stood by the *lotu*. His judgement decided in favour of Christianity, if his heart remained heathen.

With two Missionaries at Rewa it was possible to pay a fortnightly visit to Viwa, where the prospects were on the whole more encouraging. At the two places together there were now 140 professed worshippers of Jehovah, some of whom ' brought forth fruits meet for repentance.' Hunt relates how a plot was discovered against the life of Namosimalua, when, to the astonishment of his people, he not only spared the relatives of his assailant on the ground that Christianity forbids punishing the innocent with the guilty, but even forgave the traitor on

¹ Fijian, like ancient Roman warriors, commemorated their exploits by assuming a new title. *Verani* was the Native pronunciation of *French*, a trophy of the young Viwan's capture of the luckless foreign ship.

his supplication for mercy. 'The man thus generously pardoned,' adds the Missionary, 'is now a member of the Church.' Christianity was unmistakably beginning to be understood and its power felt in bloodstained Fiji. Though not allowed a residence on Mbau, the Missionaries frequently called there when visiting Viwa; they made themselves acquainted with the Court, and particularly with Thakombau, the *de facto* ruler. This young man displayed remarkable intelligence and appreciation of European arts and ideas; he sought friendship with the Missionaries, reciprocated their kindness and revered their character, and enjoyed discussion with them, while he retained all the ferocity and lustfulness of the Fijian nature. The Mbau people were in frequent communication with Viwa and Rewa, and learnt much about Christianity through these channels; its effect on Namosimalua impressed the whole district.

The King of Somosomo, like his fellow monarchs of Mbau and Rewa, envied the advantages which accrued to Lakemba from the Missionaries' presence. He requested the like favour for himself, promising security and facilities for his work to the English teacher who should be sent to his people. Somosomo was the capital of Taviuni, an island lying off the south-east of Vanua Levu. Though paying fealty to Mbau, it was counted amongst the chief powers of Fiji. Its people were regarded as the most atrocious cannibals in the archipelago. But their being the chief of sinners was no deterrent for the messengers of the Saviour of sinners; the invitation to the Missionaries seemed to bespeak in them some sense of spiritual need. In reality it was the abundance of iron pots and knives and axes, which the Somosoman King understood to be obtained at Lakemba through barter with the resident Europeans, that excited his cupidity; he looked on the Missionary as an importer of foreign wares—possibly muskets and gunpowder—without the slightest interest in his religion. Cargill and his colleagues, however, took the proposals from this unexpected quarter seriously; on Lyth's arrival from the Friendly Islands in 1839 it was resolved to send him to Somosomo, accompanied by Hunt, who in six months at Rewa had acquired an astonishing command of the language. Lyth was a novice in this respect, but his medical accomplishments supplied a good introduction. In place of the Spinneys, who arrived at Lakemba along with the Lyths only to be sent on to Australia,

Thomas Williams and his wife were dispatched from England ; they landed a year later than the Lyths. In the redistribution of the staff Cargill and Jaggar were removed to Rewa, which, as the central station, was made the head quarters of the Mission. Cross was designated for Mbau, in reliance upon the original invitation from that capital ; but Thakombau's pride had been hurt by Mr. Cross's previous withdrawal, and the site promised for a Mission house was refused. Cross found, however, a welcome at Viwa, hard by. The Calverts remained in Lakemba, where they laboured alone until the coming of Mr. and Mrs. Williams. It was a severe test for the six-months-old Missionary to have the charge of the principal post in the islands laid upon him ; but James Calvert rose to the occasion, and the work of the Lakemba Circuits went forward under his leadership. Four important stations were thus occupied by the six Missionaries before the end of 1839, two of these being situated in the middle of the group, on or close to its largest island, a third lying far to the north-east and in the neighbourhood of the other extensive mainland, while the fourth, the mother-station at Lakemba, in the south-east, linked the Fijian to the Tongan Mission, which furnished a base of supply for the former.

Of these four missionary centres Viwa was for some years the most interesting and critical. Its people excelled other Fijians in intelligence and vivacity. They were apt scholars and ready hearers of the Gospel, if they were slow to yield to its moral demands. Namosimalua and his principal chiefs stood firmly by the *lotu*, under many gusts of ill-temper and threatening from Mbau. The Viwans signally displayed the Christian spirit when, in making war, under Thakombau's orders, on a town in Vanua Levu, they fed their besieged enemies and spared their lives upon surrender. The restless intrigues and incessant wars of the young Mbauan leader kept his neighbours in turmoil, and Viwa was involved in most of the quarrels of the lord paramount. Verani was Thakombau's bosom friend and the abettor of his schemes, into which Namosimalua was sometimes dragged reluctantly by his nephew. A strong Christian party was formed in Viwa, under the favour of the old king ; within the circle of adherents there was a nucleus of convinced believers, several of whom manifested a thorough change of heart. In 1840 Cross reported the accession of ten Church

members, two of these being chiefs from a distance. He lived to see the beginning of a true Church of God in Viwa.

The course of this devoted Missionary was nearing its end. He was a gentle, self-depreciating man, never of robust energy or overflowing vitality; when he was designated in the first instance for New Zealand, Nathaniel Turner had thought him wanting in spirit and hardihood. The estimate was mistaken; there was a quiet heroism in William Cross which no danger could daunt and no violence overpower. He was the pioneer in turn at Lakemba, Rewa, and Viwa. His colleagues begged him to take rest and to recruit his health, as he had formerly done during his term in the Friendly Islands, by a voyage to Australia; he refused to go, seeing that he could only gain relief by bringing a crushing load on younger shoulders. So he stayed at his post, to the sacrifice, as it proved, of his own life. In the course of 1842 he removed to Somosomo to secure Lyth's medical care, Hunt taking his place at Viwa; but disease had made fatal progress in his frame, the long voyage hastened the collapse, and on October 15 in that year he died, his last utterance being, 'Best for a Missionary to go home!' He was literally *tired to death*, after eight years of labour and suffering in the Friendly Islands and six in Fiji. He left a widow and five children, to mourn a most tender and devoted husband and father. William Cross was buried at Somosomo, in the little graveyard where the body of John Hunt's first-born already lay.¹

At the time of his death Cross had presided over the Fijian District for two years. David Cargill, who, in succession to Cross, in January, 1839, took charge of the Rewa Mission, where he found a house built and 'a small band of noble converts' gathered 'who had suffered great losses for Christ's sake,' was not permitted to occupy this post for long. His work at Rewa was terminated by the death of Mrs. Cargill, which occurred on June 2, 1840. Margaret Cargill, of whom a touching and instructive *Memoir* was published by her husband, 'was a woman of rare and excellent spirit,' combining energy and ardour of soul with womanly tact and gentleness. She was a typical Methodist lady, who found time and strength amid her thronging motherly cares to serve the Church of God

¹ Hunt wrote a *Memoir of the Rev. William Cross, with a Short Notice of the Early History of the Missions*, which was published in London within a few years of his death.

amongst the Fijian women at Lakemba and Rewa. She was greatly valued by her husband's colleagues and their families, being mother to them all ; and she doubled his influence with the Natives. A woman such as she was appeared in the eyes of the heathen even a greater wonder and sign from God than a man of like devotion and purity. The dying wife charged her husband to take their four children to England ; they could not be reared in Fiji unmothered. He sailed for home, therefore, in September of that year, and never saw Fiji again ; the Chairmanship devolved on William Cross. After a brief sojourn at home Mr. Cargill returned to his first sphere of labour in Tonga ; but his work was cut short by the sudden stroke of death which befell him at Vavau in April, 1843, six months after the decease of his companion Cross in Fiji. David Cargill was a Scotchman of strong character and of rare industry and powers of acquisition. His journal gives evidence of close observation of Native customs and ways of thought. He had capacity for rendering the highest service to the South Sea Missions in the way of linguistic research ; and he returned to the field intending to devote himself specially to Bible translation and literary production. His piety was strict and deeply serious, with a touch of the old Covenanting austerity about it, and with something of the scholar's preciseness, which his junior English colleagues did not always relish. In these qualities he would doubtless have mellowed with advancing years. He was called away in early middle life, while his work was immature.

The eighteen months of the Cargills' sojourn in Rewa were a time of storm and stress. The king and queen were genuine friends to Christianity ; though the former remained a heathen, he professed admiration for the *lotu*, attending its worship now and then, and interposed to safeguard the Missionaries and their people. He renounced cannibalism for himself, though he would not suppress it amongst his subjects. Soon after the coming of Cargill and Jaggar he assisted them to build a chapel, which stood, with the rest of the missionary establishment, on the side of the river opposite to the heathen town. Here the converts gathered round their pastors, and were in comparative security. In the king's brother, Ratu Nggara, the Mission had a passionate enemy. The plots and acts of violence of this able, resolute, and influential man against the *lotu*-people were

ceaseless. More than once he attempted to burn down the Mission premises. After frequent quarrels with his brother he was banished from Rewa, and raised a civil war in its outlying dependencies. A second royal brother of the king, named Thokonauto (also Phillips¹), helped to foil these dastardly attempts. Apart from the dispute about the *lotu*, brawls and fights were chronic amongst the Rewan chiefs. In September, 1839, a deadly epidemic of influenza, imported (it was supposed) by English sailors, and ascribed to the anger of the gods against the *Papalangi*, brought odium upon the Mission ; the calamity gave its enemies an opportunity of which they made eager use. A massacre of the Christians was narrowly averted. For months the Mission families were in continual fear ; they and their disciples were exposed to daily threats and nightly alarms. The strain of the situation, and the anxiety falling on Mrs. Cargill through her husband's dangerous illness in April following, overtaxed this lady's strength, bringing about her sad death and the termination of Mr. Cargill's ministry in Fiji.

The troubles of the missionary settlement were aggravated by a hurricane visiting the district early in 1840, which all but wrecked the unfinished Mission buildings, and suspended for a time the work of the station. But for the liberal help afforded by the king this disaster might have proved overwhelming.

The infant Church was enabled to hold its ground through the tempest of adversities, and its life struck deep root. The Missionaries were cheered by the unswerving attachment of the handful of converts won for Christ ; their number steadily grew, and some signal conversions gave a foretaste of brighter days. Amongst these was the young Chief Matanambamba, a political exile from Mbau, who had abetted Nggara in his persecuting tricks. This young man, falling into severe sickness, was haunted by dreams in which he saw himself punished for the wrongs done to the servants of Christ. He came in penitence to the Mission house and besought Christian care. Here he found medicine for his sickness both of body and soul, and recovering, became henceforth an intelligent and, on the whole, exemplary Christian, though his youth had been stained with the worst Fijian vices. This man's conversion, which

¹ This man had consorted with English traders, and spoke the foreign language ; from this companionship he had acquired the habit of *drunkenness*. For a while Thokonauto reigned at Rewa after his elder brother's death, but he soon came to a miserable end.

occurred about the time of Mrs. Cargill's death, together with the banishment of Ratu Nggara, led to an abatement of persecution. The Rewa Missionaries were assisted by Joel Bulu, foremost of the many helpers furnished by Tonga to the Fijian Mission ; by this time Joel had become a serviceable printer. They found opportunity to itinerate in the neighbouring country, which before the war with Mbau was full of thriving villages ; in several of these friendships were formed and circles of hearers gathered, supplying vantage-points for future extension. A footing was gained at Suva,¹ a port eighteen miles west of Rewa, where the Chief Ravulo, who was a relative of Tanoa of Mbau, became an earnest believer, and opened his house for preaching. Visitors to Rewa from other islands carried far and wide the seeds of the saving truths they had heard and the new life they had witnessed.

John Waterhouse, the General Superintendent of South Sea Missions, called at Rewa on his round of inspection in June, 1841, subsequently to Cargill's departure. He was well satisfied with the progress of the Circuit and the condition of the missionary establishment. To his astonishment the Natives had constructed a timber bridge over the Rewa River, 147 feet in length, with thirteen spans and fourteen feet above water, which connected the Christian settlement with the town and the royal dwelling ; it was a pledge of amity. Waterhouse was treated by the king with marked deference and respect. He joined in the intercessions made by the Rewa chiefs for the pardon and recall of Ratu Nggara, whose disposition toward the *lotu*, it was believed, had been softened. After some demur the culprit was restored and behaved more reasonably. Everything bade fair at this time for the spreading of the Gospel in this region. Thomas Jaggar, assisted by Joel Bulu, was in charge of the Circuit, and showed himself an efficient Superintendent. A Church membership of thirty-three, well sifted by persecution, was reported to the Conference at home, with a goodly number on trial. Teachers were posted on Kandavu, the large and important island south of Viti Levu, and politically subject to Rewa. Schools were multiplied throughout the area ; lesson-books were forthcoming from the busy press. The king was liberal and appreciative, being convinced that

¹ Suva, which affords the best harbour in the whole of Fiji, was made the seat of British Government soon after the annexation.

the Missionaries were the best friends of his people. 'The *lotu*,' he said, 'makes all the land to move!' For all this, while he listened to the missionary gladly and often assented, his life was unchanged, except on the one point of man-eating; he countenanced cannibalism in his country and delighted in war, which he carried on with a cruelty scarcely abated. Widow-strangling continued unchecked, and it was thought a triumph for the *lotu* when the wife of a former heathen priest who had 'died in the Lord' escaped the fatal noose.

The brightened prospects of the Rewa Mission were quickly overcast. In Kandavu trouble arose, through false reports, which roused the passions of Ratu Nggara; he carried fire and sword into this island, and the Mission was wrecked at the moment when the principal chief had joined the *lotu* and the people were flocking for instruction. The work in Kandavu, so full of promise, was perforce abandoned, not to be resumed for many years. Persecution, attended with foul outrages, now revived at Rewa. A Christian woman was murdered to provide a feast, and her body rescued by Jaggar for burial at the risk of his own life. In 1843 the town of Suva, where a little Church had been formed, after many attacks was captured and destroyed by a Rewan expedition. A hundred persons were killed, and most of them eaten. This important place, claimed by the King of Rewa as within his territory, had for a considerable time paid tribute to Mbau; its seizure was a breach of friendship with that ruling town, which Thakombau was not the man to overlook. The Mbau chief, however, restrained his anger and sought an explanation, but was defiant and confident of its strength, and war began which proved calamitous for the aggressor. The King of Rewa relied on the support of Raivalita, a brother of Thakombau, who was *vasu* (nephew on the mother's side¹) at the Rewan court. On the other hand, Thokonauto, his own brother, was in league with Mbau. By the time of the Fijian Synod held in August, 1844, the war had gone badly against the Rewans. Their capital was already invested, and the premises of the Mission, situated on the exposed side of the river, were in great danger. It was determined to remove the printing-press to Viwa, and for the

¹ The Fijian *vasu* was a privileged person in the house of his maternal uncle, and frequently made his home there. By custom he had the right to appropriate any possession of his uncle's that he desired. This relationship appears to have been a remnant of the primitive matriarchate.

present to withdraw the Missionary, leaving a couple of Native teachers in the Circuit. The war dragged along, until in the middle of 1846 Raivalita was killed ; and, through an act of treachery, Rewa was taken by the enemy. Its king was put to death, and his traitorous brother installed in his place. The remaining brother Nggara fled to the highlands of Viti Levu, where fugitives from Rewa rallied round him. Waging from his mountain fastness a guerilla warfare against the Mbauans, he recovered at length his hereditary kingdom. Nggara proved a deadly antagonist to Thakombau's supremacy in Fiji. The Christians in Rewa were killed or scattered in the destruction of the town ; the surrounding district was laid waste and its population decimated in the struggle. In 1852, when Rewa had been rebuilt and flourished once more, a Native teacher was planted in this town. Two years later Ratu Nggara's power had become firmly established ; the Missionary William Moore took charge of the station, which renewed its prosperity. The remembrance of the first Missionaries had not been lost ; some of their converts survived, and a salutary conviction prevailed that the calamities suffered by Rewa were due to its rejection of the servants of God.

King Nggara (for such he now was) became almost as great a friend to the *lotu* as he had been formerly its enemy. His implacable hostility to Mbau was the chief hindrance to his conversion. Gradually the power of Rewa grew in the protracted duel between these states, and that of Mbau waned ; and the overthrow of the latter was only averted by the sudden death of Nggara, which happened in January, 1855. The Rewan king had been urged by his own friends to accept Christianity ; his better feelings dictated this course ; but he refused. ' If we all *lotu*,' he said, ' we must give up fighting ; it will not do to pray to the same God and fight with each other.' He had sworn to *eat* Thakombau ! His enemy accepted *lotu*, after long and stout resistance ; the tide of victory ran more strongly against him. Nggara observing this,¹ and seeing the coveted revenge within his grasp, rejected Thakombau's proffers of peace and invitation to share his repentance. In reply, King Nggara identified himself with the national deities, and

¹ To Mr. Moore, who remonstrated with him for some act of cannibalism, Nggara said : ' Only this I know, your religion fails. Ever since he accepted *lotu* Thakombau has continued to go down, and neither you nor your religion can screen him. Protect him if you can !'

boldly defied the God of the Christians to save Mbau from fire, or its master from being clubbed and eaten by the warriors of Rewa.' The heathen temples were rebuilt, and plentiful sacrifices offered.

The beating of the *lotu*-drum was forbidden, and the Christian worship might no longer be celebrated in the usual place, lest the gods of Rewa should be made angry.

The heathen priests promised Nggara complete success. So the conflict became openly a battle between Jehovah and the false gods. When the King of Rewa was smitten down with disease on the eve of certain triumph, and with his death the coalition against Mbau dissolved, the effect upon Fiji was immense ; heathenism, as a political power, fell to rise no more.

Somosomo had been marked out from the beginning as a strategic centre, to be seized by the Mission so soon as it had the strength for occupation. Hither Hunt and Lyth were sent in July, 1839—the picked men of the Mission. It was a terrible ordeal the young Missionaries entered upon, with their gentle and refined English wives—one of them 'that poor girl from Lincolnshire!' They were not unaware of the character of the Somosomans. 'The Rewans,' writes Hunt, in announcing his removal, 'speak of them in nearly the same strain in which the English speak of Fijians in general.' No one at a distance could imagine the horrible scenes of almost daily occurrence at this seat of Satan. Tui Thakau, the king, had made persuasive pleas for the sending of Missionaries ; now that they had come they were treated with cool indifference. 'The old king's great house was given up for the use of the two families, but beyond this no one seemed to notice them.' Ready enough to barter for the goods of the *Papalangi*, the people were utterly unconcerned about their teaching. This reception was very different from that accorded to the Missionaries at Lakemba and at Rewa, where, whatever hostility was manifested, there was abundant hospitality, and from the king downward all classes of the Natives were interested, at least by way of curiosity, in the talk of the White men. About the time of the strangers' coming the king's youngest son was lost at sea. Hunt and Lyth approached His Majesty to plead for the lives of his widows ; their intercession was scornfully rejected. Sixteen women were strangled in honour of the

young chief and his companions ; and Tui Thakau¹ was angered at the interference of the foreigners. Instead of concealing their fiendish deeds, the Somosomans paraded them before the eyes of the missionary households. One example of the horrors thus endured may serve for many. On February 7, 1840, John Hunt writes :

Last Monday afternoon, as soon as our Class-meeting (held for the missionary establishment) was over, a report came that some dead men were being brought here from Lauthala. . . . Almost before we had time to think the men were laid on the ground before our house, and chiefs and priests and people met to divide them to be eaten. They brought eleven to our settlement ; it is not certain how many have been killed, but some say two or three hundred, others not more than thirty. . . . The manner in which the poor wretches were treated was most shamefully disgusting ; they did not honour them as much as they do pigs !

The cannibals took offence at the closing of the Mission blinds to exclude the revolting scene. So near were their cooking-ovens, rarely cool, that the odour was constantly in evidence. The fearless reproofs administered by the servants of God exasperated the perpetrators beyond measure. One day Tui Kilakila, the king's son, came in a fury brandishing his club, and, seizing Hunt in one hand and Lyth in the other—he was a man of prodigious size and strength—would have brained Lyth on the spot. More than once, probably, Hunt's commanding presence, and a certain personal magnetism there was about him, saved the party from destruction ; there was always, moreover, the fear of British warships and their guns in the background.

After a succession of insults and acts of violence, accompanied by thefts, the hatred of the Somosomans reached its climax. The Mission house was surrounded one night by a crowd of howling Natives, while the chiefs consulted about the fate of its occupants.

These devoted men and women looked at one another and at their little ones as those only can who believe that their hours are numbered.

. . . They betook themselves to prayer . . . one after another calling upon God through the long hours of that terrible night, determined that their murderers should find them at prayer. . . . Just at midnight each pleading voice was hushed and each head bowed lower, as the stillness

¹ This was the title of the reigning sovereign of Somosomo. Hunt describes him, on his first impressions, as ' a fine old man, above seventy, with a frank and kind face.' Yet he must have been one of the most cruelly wicked wretches on earth.

outside was broken by a wild and ringing shout. But the purpose of the people was changed, and that cry was but to call out the women to dance ; and thus the night passed safely.

The Missionaries were to be left unmolested, as their residence was of commercial use ; but *death and the oven* were declared the penalty for any who should accept their doctrine. About this time Commodore Wilkes, commanding the United States Exploring Expedition, touched at Somosomo. Compassionating the plight of the missionary families, he put one of his vessels at their service for conveyance from this intolerable abode. They thanked him for the kind proposal, but resolved to stay on, believing that they were in the place of duty, and confident that love would conquer hate.

In July, 1840, Superintendent Waterhouse arrived, to cheer the hard-pressed holders of this dangerous outpost. By this time the clouds had somewhat lifted ; the people had begun to listen to the Missionaries ; strangers gave heed when the Natives were indifferent. Hunt writes in his report :

The Lord has verified His own promise. His word has not returned unto Him void. . . . Hundreds from all parts of the dominions of Tui Thakau have heard the Gospel, while visiting this place to trade, &c. ; many of them have manifested great interest in the things they have heard, and have taken the good news to their different towns and islands. They only wait for their chiefs to lead the way. . . . Until lately the king's son, Tui Kilakila, who is the real sovereign of this place, has maintained a determined opposition to Christianity. He has allowed us to preach and teach the people ; but he thought it would be in vain, as he had expressed his determination to kill the first poor man who should profess our religion. But it so happened that the first person who renounced heathenism was the king's brother !

This aged man was in sore sickness, and Mr. Lyth's skill removed his malady. The king himself advised him, in the course of the treatment, to join the *lotu*.

A few days afterwards another chief followed the example of the king's brother, no doubt for the same reason, and soon after another man of some respectability ; and about the same time a poor girl, whom we delivered from the murderous hands of a chief who was about to strangle her because she was ill. . . . This commencement of our work has been much favoured by the restoration of our servant-man from the brink of the grave. . . . All pronounced him past hope of recovery, and the king desired to have him buried !¹ But the Lord blessed

¹ It was common in Fiji for the relatives to bury alive an aged or diseased person whose case was past remedy. This fate ultimately befell Tui Thakau himself.

English medicine and English nursing, and restored him to perfect health. . . . This had a good effect on the mind of the people. . . . We have at present twenty-one professing Christians on this station, twelve of whom meet in Class. We have had from thirty to forty in our school at different times. . . . The king has promised to build us a chapel, and he appears to be sincere. We believe the time is come for the enlargement of our borders. . . . The fields are whitening for the harvest.

An amazing report to be written within a year of the occupation of Somosomo! The writer modestly is silent about his own part in the revolution; but there can be no doubt that John Hunt's perfect temper, intrepid courage, and winning address, along with the unconquerable faith and prevailing prayers of all his little band, wrought to effect the moral miracle. Healing and teaching operated here in fine combination.

A grateful sign of success appeared during the course of the first year in the sparing of the lives of certain widows, and of several war-captives, at the entreaty of the Missionaries; the practice of sacrificing human victims on the launching of new canoes was also abandoned in Somosomo—an omission unprecedented in Fiji. The monster Tui Kilakila fell ill and came into Mr. Lyth's hands, who tended him like a brother through his long affliction, bringing him round with much difficulty. The doctor preached Christ faithfully to his savage patient; and Tui Kilakila, though holding to his sins, learnt to love his physician and

showed a milder spirit ever after, treating Mr. Lyth with great kindness. The old king, too, took a great fancy to Lyth, and would often send some food to the Mission house, expecting, however, occasional gifts of knives, iron pots, and the like

in return. It was, however, in the dependencies of Somosomo that the Gospel gained most ground at this period. Teachers were sent out, schools established, and missionary tours made on the coasts of Vanua Levu and amongst the thick-sown islands adjacent.

The chiefs of Somosomo were powerful and of widespread influence, and Christianity had already reached several distant parts of their territories; but the fact that they had a Mission station under the royal sanction at home kept them back from persecuting at other parts.

So ' the Word of God grew and prevailed ' in north-eastern Fiji.

We have told how William Cross's death at Somosomo in October, 1843, led to a rearrangement of the Mission staff. Hunt was removed to Viwa, where he succeeded to the Chairmanship of the District, Thomas Williams being brought from Lakemba to replace him at Somosomo. Next year Lyth was transferred to Lakemba, and David Hazlewood, a young man entering the Mission service from Australia, joined Williams, now Superintendent of this station. The conditions continued violently adverse to the *lotu* in Somosomo and the island of Taviunu; only occasional and isolated converts could be made. The people in general had become friendly, and accessible to private visits; but the reign of terror maintained by the king and his son prevented even the best-disposed from joining the Mission. Tui Thakau, writes Williams in June, 1845, had 'publicly repeated his determination to kill and eat any of his people who may profess and interest themselves in the religion of Jesus.' Notwithstanding, the Missionaries persevered two years longer, because of the opportunity Somosomo afforded for preaching to strangers, and the influence their living here enabled them to exercise elsewhere.

At the Synod of 1847 it was resolved at last 'to forsake this comparatively barren field' in favour of other more inviting districts. Accordingly the Williams family removed to Mbua, on the mainland of Vanua Levu, where the work in this part of Fiji made a new beginning, and the premises at Somosomo were abandoned. The migration had to be carried out with secrecy, for although the Somosoman rulers hated Christianity and would have none of it, they valued its agents on several accounts, and would have retained them. Beside the barter their residence brought with it, further trade accrued through foreigners touching here; in the South Seas the Mission house was a pledge of safety and hospitality for the storm-tossed or sickly mariner, and created purchasers, instead of plunderers, for his wares. A couple of Roman Catholic priests shortly afterwards occupied the post vacated by the Wesleyan Missionaries. They were so plagued by the people—especially when they began to abuse their predecessors, whom the Somosomans had come to admire if they did not follow them—that they soon beat a retreat.

Williams and Calvert write, in the concluding paragraph on Somosomo¹ :

Since then the truth which the rejected Missionaries left behind them has sprung up in marvellous growth. The remaining chiefs and people have become humbled, and many thousands in Somosomo and its dominions are giving up their heathen practices, and show the most anxious eagerness to have Missionaries amongst them once more.

If for the time the people appeared to profit little by the toil and love spent upon them, profit came to the expenders.

The reflection can hardly be omitted [say the authors above quoted] that the exalted piety and unconquerable zeal of John Hunt were greatly matured and refined in that Somosomo furnace ; and here, too, David Hazlewood became baptized with a large measure of the same spirit, which also enabled him to persevere even to the death, while he gathered those stores of philological information which enabled him afterwards to bless the Mission with his excellent Fijian grammar and dictionary.

Somosomo was an excellent place for studying Native language and life.

Tui Kilakila succeeded to the throne of Somosomo, when his father died at an advanced age, in 1853. With occasional fits of good humour, and always affectionate toward Mr. Lyth, this man was as much a hater of the *lotu* as the old king. His capricious government stirred up rebellion at home, and one night in February, 1854, he was murdered in sleep (as it was believed) by his own son. The supposed murderer was slain by his brother, who fell in turn by the assassin's hand. The little kingdom was torn by civil war, and the royal family all but destroyed ; Somosomo itself was burnt down and its site deserted, its reduced authority being transferred to the neighbouring mainland. This tragedy was read throughout Fiji as a judgement upon the town which had been the Sodom of the islands for wickedness, and on the royal clan which of all Fijian families had made the most cruel havoc of the Christian faith.

James Calvert and his wife remained in charge at Lakemba throughout these eventful years, from the departure of Cargill to the death of Hunt in 1848. The smallness of the island and its distance from the centres of Fijian power limited the importance of this station ; on the other hand, Lakemba linked

¹ *Fiji and the Fijians*, Vol. II., pp. 49-51, published 1870.

Fiji to the rest of the world, and the Mission at this place was the stalk on which the others grew. Calvert's continuous administration here for ten years sustained the whole work of the Society in Fiji. Lakemba was the basis of Tongan influence, which powerfully affected the development of Fiji ; on this as well as on other accounts it was essential that the Mission in that port should be strongly manned. Before the Missionaries came Tongan ascendancy appears to have brought about the abandonment of cannibalism here. For the first few years Tongan converts predominated in the church of Lakemba. Many of the wilder young Friendly Islanders removed to Fiji to escape home-restraints and the strict rule of King George Tubou ; some of these were converted, and returned home as recovered prodigals. Tongan adventurers frequently engaged in Fijian wars ; not a few such immigrants, through their prowess in battle or through their services in trade and navigation, rose to power in the adopted country.

Tui Nuyau, King of Lakemba, was subordinate to Mbau and Somosomo. Not a man of vigorous or decided character, for long he played fast and loose with the *lotu*. He abode by his first professions of hospitality to the Missionaries, and paid respectful respect to their exhortations ; and he did not openly or violently oppose the conversion of his subjects. The Missionaries posted at Lakemba brought the whole of this small island under their influence. Its people were comparatively intelligent and energetic ; Leaders and Local Preachers were soon raised up. As early as 1839 the saying was current that ' the god of Lakemba had left the island, because the Christian God had beaten him till his bones were sore ! ' King Nuyau, in one of his franker moments, declared that Christianity was sure to prevail ; ' for who can stop it ? It will be the religion of all.' He was in no haste, however, to make it *his* religion, and only became a Christian toward the end of his life. Meanwhile he used his prerogative to hinder the Missionaries, sometimes in the pettiest way, frequently abetting the plots of the heathen priests. The old superstitions were entrenched in Tui Levaka's nature, and for twenty years he halted between two opinions.

Lakemba became the centre of Methodist propaganda amongst the numerous southern islands ; here the most notable triumphs of the Gospel were won in the early years of

the Fijian Mission. *Ono* is the centre of a tiny group lying 150 miles south-by-east from Lakemba, and subject to Tui Lakemba. In 1835 its inhabitants were scourged by an epidemic disease, the effect of which was to shake the faith in the indigenous gods. An *Ono* chief, named Wai, happening shortly afterwards to bring the island-tribute to Lakemba, met there with a travelled Fijian, who had in the course of his wanderings embraced Christianity. This man's conversation greatly wrought upon Wai and his companions. On returning they communicated what they had learned to their fellow islanders, to the effect that there is one God, Jehovah, who is perfectly good, the Maker of heaven and earth, and that one day in seven is sacred to His worship. The people voted to make trial of this Deity. They agreed to put aside their work, to anoint themselves and wear their best raiment on the chosen day, as they understood Jehovah's people did, and to wait upon the Lord. But how to present their prayers? They consulted the heathen priest, their expert in religion, and this accommodating man agreed to officiate for them, offering his first prayer in the following terms :

Lord Jehovah, here are Thy people ; they worship Thee. I turn my back on Thee for the present, and am on another tack worshipping another god. But do Thou bless these Thy people ; keep them from harm, and do them good.

So the Broad Church priest served for the time as minister of both religions, and through such intercession seekers after God found blessing ; but they longed for better knowledge of His ways. Hearing now of the Missionaries in Tonga, the *Onoans* sent to entreat their help ; but assistance came from a nearer quarter. In May, 1836, a canoe sailed from Lakemba for Tonga with a number of Christian Tongans on board. Amongst these was a young man baptized Josiah, who acted as chaplain to the crew. The vessel was driven by adverse winds to *Ono*, and Josiah, learning of the wish of the islanders to accept the Christian religion, determined to stay with them. He superseded the old priest, and taught the simple folk, who were free from the worst Fijian vices, much of the Christian way. The messengers sent to Tonga returned with the surprising news that Missionaries were now near at hand in Lakemba !

About the same time an *Onoan*, who in his wild youth had wandered to Tonga and thence to Lakemba, in the latter place

was thoroughly converted to God. He was taught to read and write, and became a Local Preacher. After due preparation Isaac Ravuata (as he was named) was sent back by Mr. Cargill to his Native island, in the capacity of teacher, early in 1838. This man showed himself, like Epaphras of Colosse, a 'faithful Minister of God' to his kinsfolk. He found 120 worshippers of Jehovah in the island, with a sanctuary of their own, keeping the Sabbath and observing Christian morality. The new instructor was received with acclamation. By the canoe that brought him Isaac sent an application for *books*. Cargill, aided by his wife, had by this time produced a quantity of Fijian manuscript lesson-books; he granted the Onoans a share of this precious commodity. Before the end of 1839 three more teachers had been sent to Ono—two of them Tongans, the third a Fijian of Lakemba, a man of the most decided character and devoted life, named Lazarus Ndrala, who rendered service beyond price in many parts of Fiji. There were now nearly 400 Methodists in the two inhabited islands of the group, and three good chapels built by the islanders. Lakemban visitors reported the people so eager for instruction that they were scarcely allowed to sleep while staying in Ono! Moreover, the entire population of the little island of Vatoa, fifty miles west of Ono, at the persuasion of a Vatoan converted in Lakemba, professed Christianity and petitioned for a teacher. Within a few months this request was granted.

Up to this date no Missionary had set foot on Ono; here was a Christian community without the Sacraments or religious marriages. Polygamy could not be formally abolished,¹ although the Ono people were prepared for this, until Christian marriage was duly instituted.

Calvert was alone in charge of the Lakemba Mission, with over twenty islands in his Circuit. The voyage to Ono was long and difficult, the island lying to windward of Lakemba. On the last day of the year 1839 Mr. Calvert took the long-delayed voyage at his wife's insistence.

It would be much better to leave me alone [she said] than to neglect so many people. If you can arrange for the work to be carried on here you ought to go.

¹ The question of polygamy has sorely exercised missionary administrators. The considerations weighing against its summary abolition, where it is bound up with the social fabrics, are obvious. Notwithstanding, the Wesleyan Missionary has never hesitated on this matter under any circumstances. Good reasons are given for this uncompromising policy on pp. 58, 59 of *Fiji and Fijians*, Vol. II.

King George of Tonga happened to be concluding a visit to Lakemba, and Calvert sailed with him as far as Ono. The moral failure of the principal Tongan teacher on this station made the Missionary's going the more imperative. He was delighted with the work accomplished in the new field. At Vatoa he baptized two persons and married twelve couples, including the chief of the island ; in Ono he found 233 candidates prepared for baptism, and 66 couples were married. Several young men were so far advanced in knowledge and approved in character that he was able to enlist them as teachers for other places. The signs were manifest of a deep and abiding work of the Spirit of God. These were the ' noble Beroeans ' of Fiji ; nowhere else in the archipelago, and scarcely anywhere else in the South Seas, had the Word of God been received with such readiness and simplicity of mind.

The persecution carried on by the non-Christians of Ono was aggravated through the refusal of a Christian girl, who had been betrothed in childhood to the King of Lakemba, to join his harem ; she preferred to die ! Calvert expostulated in vain with Tui Nuyau ; the Ono heathen urged the king to avenge the slight. He sailed from Lakemba resolved to seize Jemima Tovo. The king reached Vatoa, and raided this island in his rage against the Christians. Four of his canoes were sent to Ono in advance ; they foundered on the way, with a hundred men on board. Following with two others, he came in sight of Ono, when he was driven back by a storm, in which he nearly perished. Reaching home with difficulty, he sought out Mr. Calvert, confessed his error, and promised that Jemima should be left unmolested. The compensation for breach of matrimonial contract was sent him from Ono. But the impression on Tui Nuyau of his defeat wore off and his anger revived ; he vowed to have the maiden from Ono at all costs. The heathen egged him on, and his royal dignity was at stake ! The Ono Christians stood by the brave girl, and armed themselves against the island heathen who threatened their destruction. After suffering much injury and seeing one of their number killed, by a sudden movement they seized the enemy's position and captured the whole body of his warriors. Finding their lives spared, to their amazement, the hostile chiefs were glad to accept peace ; many came over to the Christian side. Tui

Nuyau was now compelled to desist, or he would have been faced by the rebellion of all Ono. A few days after peace had been proclaimed Superintendent Waterhouse, accompanied by Calvert, Hunt, and Lyth, made his visitation. The whole population welcomed the Missionaries, and the occasion was one of universal triumph in the Lord.

Deserving as the Ono people were, it was impossible to spare a Missionary from the slender staff of six for this out-of-the-way corner of Fiji. Silas Faone, however, one of the ablest and best of the available teachers and a chief in Tonga, was set over the Church, and the people were satisfied. Under Silas' administration, for a while everything went well. An extraordinary visitation of the Spirit of God, commencing through the testimony of a Native Local Preacher and resembling the Vavau revival of seven years earlier, occurred about this time. A wave of penitential emotion, leading to a new vision of holiness, passed through the Onoan Church and affected the whole community for lasting good. Thomas Williams, the next Missionary to visit Ono, in 1842, baptized 200 people; he found here a Church membership of 300, forming a third of that of the Lakemba Circuit. But three Onoans remained heathen, and these were baptized during the Missionary's stay. Ono had become a Christian land, and this without a single resident White Missionary. The chiefs of other islands watched anxiously to see how the change might affect the status and customary dues of their order. They were reassured on observing that the Onoans, though they resisted their suzerain on the matter of polygamous marriage, cheerfully continued their tribute and conscientiously obeyed civil authority.

The story of the Mission in the Ono Group was henceforth that of the fashioning of a little Christian people. John Watsford gave a year of his powerful ministry to Ono (1846-47), and witnessed here some of the most wonderful of his 'Glorious Gospel Triumphs.'¹ He was removing from Viwa to Lakemba under the orders of the Synod when the vessel was driven out of its course to Ono. He landed, along with Lyth, the Chairman, who was on the same voyage, and they found the Society in distraction. 'The teacher had run wild; everything was going wrong.' It was settled that Watsford should stay, and Lyth go on alone to Lakemba. The discomforts of this isolated

¹ See pp. 63-73 of the work bearing this title.

station were extreme ; but the love of the people was a sufficient reward.

When I left Ono [writes Watsford] I felt almost as much as I did when I left home. The people had become very dear to me, and I glorified God in them.

Walter Lawry, the new General Superintendent, visited this spot in 1847, and reports it ' a little gem in the Christian's eye. Nearly all the adult population are consistent members of the Christian Church, and all the children are under instruction.' The population at that date was 474, the Church membership 310. David Hazlewood followed Watsford at Ono, coming there from Somosomo ; the contrast was extreme. The demands of the larger stations compelled his removal in 1849 ; Native Ministers again superintended the Ono Church, which remained a part of the Lakemba Circuit, notwithstanding the distance, Joel Bulu officiating there for many years. Ono has supplied a number of the best Fijian helpers of the Mission. The nearer islands were evangelized from this centre. ' The islands round Lakemba were brought under the influence of the truth simultaneously with the spread and triumph of the Gospel in Ono.'¹

At Oneata, forty miles south-east of Lakemba, the two teachers of the London Missionary Society dispatched to Fiji by John Williams in 1830 were found by the Wesleyan Missionary on his first visit. Unable themselves to form a Church, they had prepared the way for others, and assisted the first Fijian agents sent from Lakemba. From their coming converts rapidly increased, until in 1842 a chapel was built to hold the whole of the inhabitants. The Oneata Natives had a good reputation among Fijians. Williams and Calvert characterize them as ' singularly independent ' and as ' industrious and enterprising,' excelling their neighbours both as artisans and traders. As with Paul's Thessalonica, so with Oneata ; from them ' sounded out the Word of the Lord.'

Vanua Mbalavu is a large and populous island midway between Lakemba and Somosomo. Its people are related to the Oneatans, and heard of the *lotu* through them. A principal chief of the town of Lomoloma named Mbukarau early declared for the new religion, and sailed to Lakemba to procure a

¹ *Fiji and Fijians*, Vol. II., p. 93.

teacher, who was sent after a short delay. Joseph Mbukarau (so he was baptized), who in course of time was made Class-leader and Local Preacher, became the pillar of a lively and faithful Church worshipping in his house. Vanua Mbalavu was divided between the rival states of Lomoloma and Yaro, both tributary to Somosomo. A war of heathen origin arose between the two powers, which the Christians held to be unjust ; large numbers of these withdrew from both towns, to form a community of their own on the little island of Munia, off the coast, where they prospered and from which they continued to evangelize the main island, some of them suffering martyrdom in the attempt. In the civil war heathenism wellnigh destroyed itself. When it came to an end, in 1854, almost the whole island was ready to become Christian. The abandonment of Somosomo by the Mission had exasperated Tui Kilakila against Christianity, and he and his chiefs set themselves to extirpate the *lotu* in Vanua Mbalavu. His sudden death, in 1855, delivered the Church in this island, now grown to a relatively large size, from a terrible persecution. Thithia, Thikombia (a notoriously wicked place, violently opposed to the Gospel in the first instance), and other islands in the same waters, received the Gospel through Somosomo and Munia. In 1855 a Tongan Native Minister, with seven assistants and twenty-six school-teachers, was employed in this section of the Lakemba Circuit. The Lakemba Missionaries made frequent visits here, as Vanua Mbalavu lay on the main track of their communication with the central islands.

The circumstances of the Mission in the island of Lakemba itself have been already stated in general. The king Tui Nuyau was secretly hostile, under a profession of friendship ; his brother Toki openly reviled the Gospel. Progress was difficult under this weight of opposition ; but for the support of influential Tongans, whom the king durst not offend, it might have been impossible. Nevertheless it was continuous, and persecution served to prevent an unhealthy growth. The arrival of Thomas Williams and his wife in July, 1840, was a great event for the Mission. For a year and a half the Calverts had borne the burden alone ; now that the work had spread to distant islands its compass was quite beyond the reach of a single Missionary. Chapels rose in the villages of Lakemba, Native teachers were planted out in other islands, and these

were visited at fairly regular intervals. It was not long after this that a leading priest in Lakemba became obedient to the faith; Amos Kau was a clever man, and served as instructor in Fijian to the Missionaries. After his conversion he went as ambassador to Mbau. There he died a Christian death, and was buried, at his own request, by the side of John Hunt. This event strongly impressed the people of Mbau.

A great struggle took place in 1842 over the illness of the king's daughter, Tangithi. Profuse offerings to the heathen gods brought no relief. At length the king was obliged to seek the Missionary's help. With his usual duplicity he attempted to enlist Jehovah along with the Native deities and to combine the opposite modes of treatment. In despair, he finally consented to the patient's renouncing heathenism, as she greatly desired, and to her removal to the Missionary's house. There Mr. Calvert's medicine and Mrs. Calvert's nursing brought the girl back from the edge of the grave. Tangithi became an earnest Christian, 'to the dismay of the priests and the rousing of the island.' Now the same difficulty arose between Lakemba and Mbau that had formerly arisen between Ono and Lakemba, for Tangithi was betrothed to old King Tanoa. Her father could not plead, like the Ono father in the parallel case, that his religion forbade the marriage; and poor Tangithi was sent to Mbau, where she suffered abominable treatment. In the end, through the intercession of King George of Tonga, she was allowed to return home; in after years she proved 'a good Christian and a devoted Class-leader.' The Tangithi episode furthered the Gospel in Lakemba.

The conversion of Yandrana, the most populous place in the island, situated on the opposite side to the port where the king lived, came about in 1842 in a singular fashion. There was a quarrel between this town and the Lakemba port, in which two men of the former place were killed. The people in alarm sent word to the Missionary, saying that 'they should certainly go to war with the king' as things were, 'and that they therefore wished to become Christian.' Calvert came promptly, and found the Yandrana chiefs gathered in the heathen temple; here they bowed with him in worship of the true God. It was agreed that on the next Sabbath the whole town should abandon idolatry. This place had been a fortress of enmity to the *lotu*, and the revolution spread dismay amongst the

persecutors. Tui Nuyau sent to veto the secession, but his message was too late. Calvert interviewed him on the occasion, explaining the conduct of the Yandranas and showing how the king would profit by the change of their disposition ; he got the following remarkable answer :

I sent to inquire about their becoming Christian in order to prevent it, according to the custom of our land ; so I did to the islands of Oneata and Ono, but my efforts were ineffectual. Religion is not like a dress to be put on and off ; but it is a work in the heart. When our message goes to those who have only put religion on, they give it up ; but those who know religion press on in spite of our opposition, and people will not abandon it. See ! religion exists and prevails at all the places where I made efforts to destroy it ; it spreads, and we shall all become Christian. It is our way to oppose, but yours to go on with your work, and be successful.

This shifty monarch had certainly learnt something during his seven years' fighting against God. The wholesale conversion of Yandrana only laid the foundation for spiritual work ; but it was a true foundation so far as it went ; a sound and fruitful Church was built up here. Twelve years later, on Calvert's appeal, nearly twenty young men volunteered from Yandrana for the service of the Mission, out of which number he was able to select a goodly contingent.

Mr. and Mrs. Williams spent three years on the Lakemba Mission (1840-43). They were a Lincolnshire couple, from the Horncastle Circuit. Thomas Williams was a strong man both in mind and body, of solid character, manifold practical ability, and devoted spirit ; his wife was worthy of him. Unfortunately his health limited his work in the Mission to eleven years ; in this short time he acquired an unsurpassed knowledge of Fiji and the Fijians. The description of Native life and customs which occupies the first volume of the work so often quoted in these pages, bearing the names of Williams and Calvert, came from the pen of the former ; it supplies one of the most complete and scientific accounts in existence of any uncivilized people. From Lakemba he removed to Somosomo ; on the abandonment of that station opening the new Mission of Mbua.

Calvert was again left alone in Lakemba, giving up his colleague when he had become thoroughly efficient. By this time his own health was impaired through dysentery, and

his work became sorely hampered. In 1844 his friend Lyth, being withdrawn from Somosomo, was sent to join him. Lyth's knowledge of Tongan was of peculiar service in Lakemba. The Tongans were mostly on the side of the *lotu*, but not always a credit to it; idleness and quarrelsomeness were inveterate faults of their nature. Their presence in Fiji raised increasing difficulties as time went on. Early in 1846 Tui Nuyau announced his resolve to worship Jehovah, then the heathen priests over-persuaded him. They were aided by the Romish priests, who had got a footing on the island and reached the king's ear; they would rather see him *pagan* than Protestant! Toki, Tui Nuyau's persecuting brother, had died. Most of his chiefs by this time had accepted the *lotu*; so had his favourite daughter, Jane, a woman of remarkably fine character. When Wetasau, next in rank to the king, openly professed his faith in Christ, 'all men saw that they might *lotu* in safety.' The victory of Christianity in Lakemba was thus definitely declared, eleven years after the first Missionaries landed. Not till 1849, when in fear of conflict with Mbau,¹ did Tui Nuyau publicly conform to Christianity. In this act he was joined by the one remaining heathen priest.

In 1847 Lakemba was robbed of Mr. Lyth; he was required at Viwa to assist in carrying the Scriptures through the press. Next year John Malvern arrived, to serve the missionary apprenticeship in Lakemba. Malvern, who ranked in courage and zeal with the foremost of his brethren, was particularly successful in the development of schools and the training of Native agents. Calvert's last year at Lakemba was signalized by the conversion of a famous chief of Levuka²—a sailor settlement in Lakemba—'distinguished by his energy of character and desperate hardihood in voyages and war, as well as by his unscrupulous treachery.' This man was in high repute at Mbau, renowned for many a cruel exploit. 'Amongst his strongest passions was an intense hatred of the Tongans and Christianity.' He had entered into many plots and schemes to crush the new religion; they had all been foiled. Calvert

¹ The hostile Mbau chief threatened Lakemba because he had been refused the possession of Wetasau's Christian daughter; he landed with his invading force on the day after Tui Nuyau's public confession of faith. But the Lakembans, headed by a bold Tongan leader, presented so alarming a front that the enemy took fright and sailed off. So the storm passed over.

² To be distinguished from the other Levuka, on the Ovalau Island.

found an opportunity of conversation with this arch-enemy and won his attention, then reached his conscience. Soon the 'man of rapine and blood was bending before God in humble penitence.' He did nothing by halves, and his repentance was as thorough and outspoken as his former hatred of the Gospel. His many wives were his greatest stumbling-block. To a Fijian nobleman monogamy meant a material sacrifice, as well as a difficulty of affection; each of his spouses was a link with some influential house whose alliance he might lose by severance of the tie, and the industry and skill of each contributed to her husband's wealth. The renunciation not unfrequently reduced a man from affluence to poverty. This dreaded Fijian buccaneer crowned his conversion by building at Levuka a lovely chapel, sparing no expense upon it, and this was opened by Mr. Calvert before he left the Circuit. He had laboured here for ten years, for three of them without a European colleague. During this period the Circuit was extended over the whole area of southern Fiji; a well-disciplined Church membership of 1,160 had been built up, furnished with its array of Native Preachers and Teachers and Class-leaders, and with a developed Methodist organization. The schools had turned out thousands of readers, who were supplied with large parts of the printed Bible in their own tongue and with the first essentials of Christian literature.

Calvert's superintendency was taken over by the energetic and efficient Watsford; he and Malvern were kindred spirits, and pushed on the work with vigour. Before the end of 1849, however, the dangerous condition of Mrs. Watsford's health compelled her husband's withdrawal; the Watsfords returned to the field later, but only for a brief space. The conflict with Romanism came to a crisis at Lakemba in Watsford's time.¹ Lyth returned to this Circuit on Watsford's departure, and witnessed the final surrender of Tui Nuyau to the *lotu*. He started here an institution for training Native agents. Hitherto each Missionary had given such training as he could to likely youths on his own station; now students were gathered to Lakemba from various parts of the District.² Lyth and Malvern were specially competent for such work; but

¹ See the graphic account on pp. 89-92 of *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*. Watsford's Fijian narrative is crowded with lively stories.

² This establishment was subsequently transferred to a more central position. It was the nucleus of the whole system of Fijian education.

Circuit duties demanded their full strength and time, and they were overtaxed. In 1852 a trained English schoolmaster and mistress were at last secured for this department ; Mr. and Mrs. Collis were the first of an able succession of lay educators, who have rendered invaluable service to Fiji in association with the Missionaries. Lyth had become Chairman of the District, in succession to Hunt. The care of the Native Ministry and the development of education formed a prominent feature of his policy ; to this essential part of the work of the Mission he devoted his ripened wisdom and strength. His plan for the raising and training of Native agents is published in the *Missionary Report* for 1854. John Malvern laboured at Lakemba till 1853, when he was succeeded by John Polglase, the Lyths left the island and left Fiji, spent with toil and sickness, in the following year, when Polglase assumed the superintendency.

We must now return to Viwa, where we left John Hunt, who took up the mantle of the fallen William Cross in 1842. Lyth was Hunt's senior in the ministry, and Calvert in age ; they both recognized their comrade's ascendancy, and rejoiced in his appointment to the District Chair, into which in his humility he had almost to be *forced*. For the six remaining years of Hunt's life he was fixed at Viwa—a station which by reason of the facilities it supplied for travel and its proximity to Mbau afforded the best centre for the oversight of the Fijian Mission. Despite the uncertain and in many ways unfavourable disposition of the Mbau rulers, the Circuit, in some directions rapidly, extended its range over Central Fiji.

Amongst the chief out-stations of Viwa in the early years was *Ovalau*, an island of moderate size off the east coast of Viti Levu, on which a community of White traders had gathered, residing at the chief town, Levuka.¹ These English and American settlers were a care, and in too many cases, by their bad example and unfriendly influence, a hindrance to the Missionaries and a scandal to Christianity. The *lotu* made slow and belated progress here. The King of Ovalau resembled in character Tui Nuyau of Lakemba ; he was a dependant of Mbau.

At and near Mbua, a large town on the western shore of

¹ To be distinguished from Levuka in Lakemba.

Vanua Levu, Mr. Hunt found several teachers already at work. This district, to which the export of sandalwood and bêche-de-mer had given commercial importance, was also in the sphere of influence of Mbau, and thus came to be evangelized by Native agents and visits of the Missionary from Viwa. Two brothers were contending for the rule of this little kingdom, and protracted war made missionary work difficult and hazardous. So firm a footing however, was gained, here, and the position was one of such strategic value, that when the Mission at Somosomo was closed in 1847 Thomas Williams was planted at Mbua. The Mission held its ground from this time onward, though under conditions often precarious. From this point of vantage a long stretch of Vanua Levu, with the adjacent islands, was accessible.

At Nandi, on the south coast, about thirty miles from Mbua, the other port of Vanua Levu included in the Viwa Circuit, work was commenced in 1843, simultaneously with that at Mbua. Joel Bulu was its first teacher. Many converts were prepared for baptism at Hunt's first visit, in 1844. John Watsford, transferred from Ono, and James Ford, fresh from England, were the first Missionaries planted at Nandi. It was the most insalubrious for health, but amongst the most spiritually fruitful stations in Fiji. Soon after their arrival, and while they were still imperfectly housed, the missionary families underwent a tremendous hurricane, barely escaping destruction under its fury. A child of Mr. Watsford's died from the effects of her exposure to the storm. A new mission house was built on a higher site; the *lotu* people followed the Missionary's change of habitation. Before a year had passed Watsford was appropriated for Lakemba and replaced at Nandi by Hazlewood, who laboured here until his physical breakdown in 1853, when he returned to Australia. At Nandi this devoted Missionary buried in 1849 first one of his children and then his wife. Here his invaluable Fijian *Grammar* and *Dictionary* were prepared. The Fords within a year of their coming collapsed in health, and went home to England. William Moore, an Australian recruit, was James Ford's successor. Despite these unsettling changes, the work in Nandi prospered for many years. This town at the outset was less disturbed by war than the sister station of Mbua; its people were less barbarous and more receptive towards Christianity than those

of northern Vanua Levu. Eastern Vanua Levu belonged to the sphere of Somosomo.

Verani of Viwa, nephew of the crafty King Namosimalua and chief friend of Thakombau, has been already introduced. His conversion was decisive for the ascendancy of the *lotu* in Viwa and its access to the subject towns. This intelligent and powerful young warrior chief from their first arrival sought the company of the Missionaries. He was soon persuaded of the truth of Christianity, and openly declared his convictions. He learnt to read, and would reverently kiss the book on meeting the name of Jesus. Often he stole into the woods to pray ; sometimes he was seen to fall on his knees in supplication on the field of battle. Yet he was still a professed heathen ; love for Thakombau and devotion to his policy held him back from the *lotu*. He was Tui Viti's right-hand man in the wars of Mbau, and bore a name dreaded for fierce courage and cunning strategy. At last Verani laid his case before Thakombau, begging that he might be allowed to become a Christian, and even urging his master to do the same. Permission was refused, but Verani's influence from this time moderated his chief's opposition to the *lotu*. Thakombau knew that Verani, once baptized, would be disabled for Fijian warfare, and the conflict between Mbau and Rewa was at its height ; he could not spare his best lieutenant.

Good Friday was now approaching, and Verani was spelling out the Passion story. The teacher was startled by a heavy sob. ' Why did Jesus suffer all this ? ' the scholar asked. ' For you,' was the reply, ' to save you ! ' ' Then,' said Verani instantly, ' I am His. I'll give myself to Him ! ' ' The great transaction ' was done ! ' If few men have sinned more deeply,' says Calvert, ' no man ever repented more deeply.'

Verani reported his intention to Thakombau, who sent back word that on the day Verani was baptized he should be killed and eaten ! His resolve was unshaken. ' I fear you,' he replied to the threatener ; ' but I fear the great God very much more ! ' Hearing that the coming Friday would be kept sacred in memory of the death of Christ, Verani inquired when the celebration would occur again ; being told that it would not recur for another year, he announced his wish to be baptized. Thakombau, fearing this, sent a message begging his friend to delay that they might become Christian together ! But the

appeal arrived too late. The momentous step had been taken, and all Viwa knew that its proud and terrible young chief had bowed the knee to Jesus. Instead of sending the death-warrant which the heathen of Mbau looked for, Thakombau quietly said :

Did I not tell you that we could not turn Verani ? He is a man of *one heart*. When he was with us he was fully with us ; now he is Christian he is decided, and not to be moved.

So it turned out ; day after day Verani sought the Lord in penitent confession, until he found conscious salvation in the name of Christ, when he went forth a changed and happy man. A month later he had an interview with Thakombau, 'telling him all he knew and felt of religion ; and when he had done the chief said : "Go on, go on !"' The Christians, Verani told the king, 'would obey all his commands, if right ; but they would do nothing wrong, and could not take part in cruel and barbarous wars.' Thakombau replied : 'Very good ; you stay at home and learn your book well !' and promised that he would himself eventually become Christian. Considering the disappointment and heavy loss the Chief of Mbau suffered by this event, and his passionate and savage character, the forbearance he showed in the affair was most remarkable ; it goes to explain how Thakombau was loved by the Missionaries, in spite of his horrible crimes and cruelties.¹

Verani—now known as Elijah (the baptismal name he chose)—remained a layman, his uncle's helper in the government of Viwa and an ally of Thakombau within the limits above defined. His support and counsel were of the utmost value to the Mission ; he was a great lover of John Hunt and of James Calvert. The former described his behaviour on a voyage they took together :

He strongly recommended the *lotu* to all the people with whom we had intercourse. In fact, he made it his business, and went for the express purpose of persuading the Ovalau people to throw up their

¹ This was not, however, the end of the trouble over Verani's decision. The chief Mbau priest declared it to be the will of the god that Verani and the Viwa people should be killed and the Missionaries driven away. Accordingly, one day Thakombau, with a great number of armed men, crossed to Viwa, to all appearance bent on massacre. They roamed about for two hours, brandishing their weapons, while no one lifted a hand against them, and then, to the astonishment of all Viwa, re-embarked for Mbau. Thakombau confessed afterwards that 'something had tied their hands, and they could do nothing.'

heathenism. He persuaded some, and got the promise of others to join before long. . . . I quite admired his untiring efforts, and felt ashamed of myself. During the seven days we were together I heard no unbecoming expression from his lips. When not engaged with the heathen or Christians in conversing on religion, he was constantly reading his book and asking the meaning of what he read. He kept all his men close to their reading, and persuaded some heathen chiefs who came to see him to learn the alphabet.

Verani maintained a resolute, consistent, and active profession of Christ to the day of his death. When his counsellors urged him to retain his former many wives on accepting the Christian rule he replied :

You are on the devil's side. If my wife cannot manage in our house I will help her to get wood and cook our food ; but I will not continue to sin against God.

'In his whole deportment,' wrote Mr. Lyth in 1851, 'there is the Christian—love to God and love to man in earnest.' Elijah Verani was mighty in prayer. One of his acts of public intercession, offered at Mbau, was taken down by Mr. Williams in full and translated ; it is recorded on pages 266, 267 of *Fiji and Fijians*, Vol. II. A couple of its paragraphs may be transcribed as an evidence of what God had wrought in Fiji :

O Jehovah, hear us for His sake, Thy Son, whom Thou didst give, that through Him we also might become Thy children. Oh, hear our prayer, that the wicked may consider and that the impenitent may become penitent, and may come to Christ and be saved. From Thee we came, and our mind is that we may return to Thee. O Holy Ghost, descend upon us, and prepare our hearts for that place. Tell us that our names are written in the Book of Life. We do not ask to know this at some time that is yet to come ; do Thou speak it to us now, as we do not know the continuance of our lives here. Oh, tell us *now* that we are saved through Jesus ! . . .

And we pray Thee for our Ministers. They see much evil by living with us at Fiji, and they suffer and are weak in their bodies ; and there is nothing with us that we can give them to strengthen them. O Lord Jesus Christ, hear our prayers for them. Mr. Williams is weak ; do Thou strengthen him, and let his life be long, and make our land good for him. And bless the lady, and the children, and let Thy Holy Spirit be always with them, to comfort their minds. . . .

Oh, hear our prayers for Fiji's sake ! Do have love for Fiji ! . . . The men and women of Fiji are Thy people, and Thy people are strangled and clubbed and destroyed. Oh, have compassion on Fiji ! and spare Thy servants for the sake of Fiji, that they may preach Thy true word to the people.

Simultaneously with the extraordinary work of grace in Ono, and quite independently, a similar revival took place in the Viwa Church toward the close of 1845, after Verani's conversion. This movement, which bore the stamp of John Hunt's spiritual intensity, is narrated on pages 269 to 272 of *Fiji and Fijians*, Vol. II. It began with 'a penitent-meeting held every Saturday evening.' Hunt described the sequel in the following words :

Nothing was heard but weeping and praying. Many cried aloud for mercy, and not in vain. The merciful God heard their cries, and blessed them with pardon and peace.

From the chapel the work of grace was carried to

almost every house in the town. . . . In some instances nearly the whole family were crying for mercy with one heart and voice. Business, sleep, and food were almost entirely forgotten. About seventy persons were converted during the first five days of the revival. Some of the cases were the most remarkable I had ever seen, heard of, or read of ; yet only such as one might expect the conversion of such dreadful murderers and cannibals would be. . . . They literally roared for hours together for the disquietude of their souls. . . . They prayed themselves into an agony. . . . Of course there was a great deal of confusion ; but it was such as every enlightened person could see was the result of excitement produced by the Divine Spirit. . . . The result has been most happy. . . . All feel that the revival has constituted a new era in their religious history. It has spread through the Circuit. Nakorotumbu, Nandi, Mbua—indeed, every place, more or less, has been blessed.

All the out-stations became

alive to God ; and our ministrations in the Word and Sacraments were most signally owned of God. The mats of the chapel were wet with the tears of the communicants at the table of the Lord, and in many instances the Ministers were scarcely able to minister because of the glory of the Lord.

So Fiji also had its Pentecost. John Watsford was Hunt's colleague at Viwa during the revival-period, and was in his element.¹ This general turning to God excited great alarm at

¹ See *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, pp. 51-54. Watsford refers to the prayers at the private weekly meeting of the Ministers as the first spring of the revival, and ascribes a prominent part in the movement to a pious Fijian teacher named Noah, who was his instructor in Fijian. Noah was Hunt's chief adviser in the preparing of his Fijian Bible work ; Watsford ascribes much of the excellence of the translation to this man's sound judgement and mastery of his mother tongue. Noah's reason gave way under the strain of his task. In later life Watsford told the story of the Viwa revival with overwhelming effect in his missionary speeches.

Mbau. Thakombau, now at the crisis of his first war with Rewa, feared to lose all his Viwa warriors, and in his rage uttered the direst imprecations.

For some time Viwa was threatened with destruction ; and when in December the Somosomo people, on visiting Mbau, had thirty of the Rewa men killed and cooked for their entertainment, it was declared that the Christians should fill the ovens for the next feast.

But though ' many Christians were ill-treated, no blood was shed,' and the storm of persecution passed over.

The Viwa revival was followed by an extension of the work of the Mission throughout the Circuit and an enlargement of its bounds. The report of the happenings in Viwa awakened the spirit of hearing and the expectation of blessing from the Gospel amongst the heathen, and qualified Native agents were now forthcoming in increased numbers and of higher consecration. Mbua and Nandi on Vanua Levu became principal stations, and Nairara and Mba, on Viti Levu, were newly furnished with Native Preachers.

In 1846 Lyth took Watsford's place at Viwa, chiefly in order to expedite the translation of the New Testament on which Hunt had been engaged for several years. This was completed and the first edition carried through the Mission press in 1847. The accomplishment of this great sacred task cost the Mission John Hunt's life. He had crowded into ten years' work sufficient to fill twenty. Without omitting any of the duties, or relaxing anything of the strain, that devolved on a Fijian Missionary in those years of agonizing effort, he had applied himself with the ardour of a scholar to the mastery of the language and the subduing of it to the service of the Word of God. He lived the manifold life of evangelist, pastor, teacher, administrator, and student—each of these lives with full intensity.

The amount of his labours during six years at Viwa can never be told. Every part of the Mission machinery received his unwearied care ; in addition to his constant toil in preaching, visiting the people, travelling to various islands, exposure to storm and privation, diligent training of the Native agents, and superintendence of the schools, he had completed an admirable translation of the New Testament and carried it through the press. His brother Missionaries clung to him with a love that was mingled with reverent admiration. The converts regarded him with filial affection, and even the heathen treated him with more than respect.

Quite suddenly violent internal sickness came upon Hunt, in August, 1848 ; his physician-colleague was at hand, but could find no remedy ; the sufferer's vital energies had been strained to the breaking-point. The Viwan Christians were filled with dismay. Verani prayed, in his love of the sick Missionary :

O Lord, we know that we are very bad, but spare Thy servant ! If one must die, take me ! *Take ten of us !* But spare Thy servant to preach Christ to the people.

The request could not be granted ; this dear servant of God had finished his course.

The great bodily pain was relieved, but a fierce anguish took hold of the dying man's soul, and for some time the conflict with doubt and fear was terrible. But the end was triumph.

Hunt felt that the end was near. 'Something within me tells me,' said he, 'that my work is done.' Yet the waning flame of life flickered up again, and for a few weeks, while the patient lay helpless but free from pain, the hope of his recovery was indulged. He was 'placed under *tambu (tabu)*' by the doctor, as he said, and spent those days in solitude and inactivity, but in perfect composure, which rose sometimes into an exultant vigour of soul. In this strain he wrote his last letter, addressed to Mr. Williams at Mbua, adopting the hope so strongly felt by those about him that 'in a month or two' he 'might be fit for service, if it please God.'

The Synod now assembled at Viwa, and, though the Chairman could not attend its sessions, he shared in the anxieties of his brethren and felt the excitement of the occasion. The discipline that had to be exercised on one of the Mission staff who had grossly sinned caused him deep distress. These circumstances probably hastened the relapse, which supervened in the middle of September ; it is doubtful, however, whether, under the most favourable conditions, the fatal recurrence of the malady could have been averted. From the second attack there was no rallying. Physical prostration was again followed by a time of spiritual eclipse. But this cloud also passed ; and John Hunt's closing hours were filled with light and peace. 'I see nothing but Jesus!' he said. Repeatedly he cried, during those days of dissolution : 'Lord, for Christ's sake,

bless Fiji! Save Fiji!’ Again: ‘I have no choice. I am resigned to the will of God. I am more; I love the will of God. He rules.’ Hunt died on the afternoon of October 4, clasping Calvert’s hand and with Calvert’s arms supporting him.¹

Not the least touching circumstance attending the departure of this saint of God was the visit of Thakombau next morning amongst the stream of Fijians who came to look on the face of their dead friend and pastor. As the great chief of Mbau gazed upon the lifeless form of the man ‘before whose faithful warnings he had so often quailed and whose tender appeals had softened even his strong heart,’ and as he heard the Missionary’s dying message to himself, Thakombau strove in vain to conceal his deep emotion. That scene was an earnest of the victory of the Gospel in Fiji.

¹ *Fiji and the Fijians*. Vol. II., pp. 275–278, describe the scenes attending Hunt’s death; also Rowe’s *Life of John Hunt*, chs. xiii., xiv.

VII

THE VICTORY OF CHRIST IN FIJI

A reinforced Staff—End of ten Years of War—The Rewa Circuit—Further Developments—Thevalala—Nandi—Critical Events of the Period—Vacillation of Thakombau—Levuka—'Refrain : I love Them'—Accession of Thakombau—His Enemies—King George Intervenes—Baptism of Thakombau—Fiji for Christ—The Testimony of Miss Gordon-Cumming.

By the time of John Hunt's death, toward the end of 1848, after thirteen years' labour the Wesleyan Mission had gained a secure footing in the Fijian Islands¹ and was laying its plans for evangelizing the entire country. From the original Lakemba station those of Rewa, Somosomo, and Viwa had been planted. The Rewa Mission, through stress of war, had become absorbed in the neighbouring Circuit of Viwa, while Somosomo was evacuated in favour of Mbua and Nandi, which stood on the adjoining major island of Vanua Levu. Four principal stations continued to be occupied, with a much wider sphere of influence and much larger number of converts attached to them than in the case of those at first selected. A good translation of the New Testament had been produced in the Native tongue, and the beginnings of a Fijian literature were in existence, issuing from the Mission press now planted at Viwa. This small island had come to be recognized as the missionary head quarters, in virtue of its central position and its close association with the political capital of Mbau. The powerful religious revival which took place here in 1846 strengthened the hold of the *lotu* on Viwa and gave it added prestige throughout a wide area.

The capture and destruction of Rewa by the Mbauans in 1845 failed to end the war against Mbau, Ratu Nggara, the Rewan chief, renewing the struggle through the aid of the inland mountaineers of Viti Levu. Twice he rebuilt Rewa ;

¹ The visit and report of General Superintendent Lawry, made about the same date, supplied means for reviewing the progress of the Fijian Mission. See *Fiji and Friendly Islands : A Missionary Visit*, &c., by Rev. Walter Lawry (1849).

on the second restoration he succeeded in holding his ground. Gradually Nggara, now the acknowledged king of Rewa, re-established its power, and set it on a firmer basis than before. Turning to account the discontent excited by Thakombau's exactions and caprice, he won over town after town and tribe after tribe to the Rewan confederacy, until in the early fifties Mbau was hemmed in by enemies and Thakombau's destruction appeared inevitable. The prolonged civil war was most adverse to the prosecution of the Mission, which during its continuance made more advance in the outlying than in the central parts of Fiji. Amid the raging passions of the conflict, and the intrigues and treacheries associated with it, no ordinary degree of prudence and diplomatic skill was needed in the Missionaries to enable them to carry on their work uninterruptedly. This they did by the help of God, even gaining ground for the Gospel in many directions throughout these years of alarm and danger. Though moving at every step amidst perils from the heathen and perils of the deep, their lives were wonderfully preserved ; it was not till long after this time that any Missionary fell by the hand of a Fijian.

At the time of Hunt's death Thomas Jaggar, of the older staff, retired from the field, under discipline. Calvert and Lyth were reinforced by Williams, Watsford, Hazlewood, and Malvern, men of varied abilities, but all four of them Missionaries of complete devotion and fine calibre. Another young man sent out from England, James Ford, had been driven home by loss of health at the end of his first year of service. Up to this date the regular European staff had never exceeded six in number—two each at Lakemba and Viwa, one at Mbua, and one at Nandi. There were 34 salaried Native agents, serving generally under the name of teachers, the elder of whom were Tongans ; 105 day-school teachers, who received no regular stipend ; and 60 Native Local Preachers. The day schools numbered 47, containing above 2,000 scholars, the bulk of whom were in the Lakemba and Viwa Circuits. The Church members were 1,730, with nearly a tenth as many on trial ; the regular attenders at Christian public worship were 3,280. The population of Fiji was estimated at 300,000,¹ half of whom lived on the two large islands.

¹ This was the calculation of the Missionaries at the time. Later evidence goes to reduce their estimate.

The previous chapter carried the history of the Mission in Lakemba into the period after Hunt's death, at which time Calvert's ten years of ministry there were terminated by his removal to Viwa, Watsford, and then Lyth, succeeding him. John Polglase was promoted to the superintendency of this extensive Circuit on Lyth's retirement in 1854. A great accession came in the same year to the Native missionary staff. Joel Bulu and Paul Ve'a, the two principal Tongan assistants, already figured in this capacity ; now three additional names appear of men put in charge of the Lakemban out-stations. Polglase entered the work in 1851—a Cornishman, as would appear from his name. He is highly commended by Robert Young in his *Deputation to the Southern World*. J. S. H. Royce, a noted Australian Minister for a while in Fiji, speaks of him as 'no ordinary man ; a most perfect speaker in Fijian and a powerful Preacher, beloved and respected by all his brethren.' He developed the Native training institution founded by his predecessor, and on its removal to Rewa in 1859 was set apart for its direction. Shortly after this appointment Polglase was struck down by disease. 'His death,' writes Royce, 'makes a fearful gap in our ranks.'

Up to the middle fifties two-thirds or more of the Church membership in Fiji were found in the Lakemba Circuit. The prosperity of the Mission in this quarter made greatly for progress elsewhere. Lakemba supplied the junction between Fiji and the rest of the world ; it was the *point d'appui* for all our operations in their early stages. Here foreign visitors and traders most frequently called, receiving their first, and often their only, impressions of Fiji from Lakemba. In this Circuit young Missionaries spent most of their years of probation. The numerous Tongans resident on the island, or plying to and from the port, furnished the greatest help to the *lotu* ; yet many of them, through their idle and dissolute character, occasioned it great scandals.

The death of Ratu Nggara brought the ten years' struggle of Rewa against Mbau to a sudden end. The Mission had been resumed under European direction¹ a year earlier than this. William Moore was the refounder of Rewan Methodism.

¹ The way for this had been prepared by the successful labours of a Native teacher.

Moore, like Hazlewood, was of Australian extraction ; a contemporary of Polglase, he entered the work in 1850, and had laboured in Viwa, Nandi, and Mbua before coming to Rewa. He was a man of fervour, enterprise, and perseverance, and of much practical ability, described as ' tried, but pre-eminently honoured and laborious, though little known.' He had a difficult part to play in the troubles attending the close of Ratu Nggara's rule. On the death of the king the angry heathen suspected that the Missionary had *poisoned* him. They burnt down the Mission house, and Mr. Moore and his family barely escaped with their lives. Mara, Thakombau's rebel brother, gathering adherents from Rewa and elsewhere, in a little while resumed war against Mbau, with some prospect of success. Notwithstanding the renewal of the war, the Moores, after a few months, were able to recommence their work at Rewa, where an inquiry was held under the auspices of King George Tubou into the destruction of the Mission premises, and some restitution was effected. The forbearance of the Missionaries over this outrage greatly impressed the Rewans in their favour ; on Moore's return he found heathenism discredited and the surrounding people inclining to the *lotu*. ' Our prospects,' he wrote to the Missionary Secretaries in November, 1856, ' are glorious, and thousands are anxious to be taught the way of salvation. . . . The people are continually crying : " Come over and help us." '

The change was not due to political circumstances alone, but also to the ascendancy won by the now Christian power of Mbau ; ' the Holy Spirit has also been working amongst us,' writes Moore ; ' men have been converted to God, and many are repenting of their sins.' Romanism had been for some time fishing in the troubled waters of Rewa ; but the Methodist revival disconcerted the plans of the Popish priest, who retired from this place. In June of the next year it was reported that within the narrower Rewan area, extending twelve miles east and north from the bay, one-third of the population were professing Christians ; in the whole Circuit above 20,000 Methodist adherents were counted. On this ground there were now 33 chapels erected, and 90 other preaching-places in use. A hundred and twenty-two Native teachers were employed in 69 day-schools. The principal drawback to the work arose from the notoriously factious disposition of the Rewa

chiefs, which they did not wholly lay aside on entering the Church.

Through the vigorous activity and able administration of William Moore and his Tongan colleague, Paul Vea, the Rewa Circuit on its reconstitution was extended along the coast to the western extremity of Viti Levu. Here for some time a teacher had been posted, at Nandronga, where bitter opposition continued and cannibalism was rife. Between this point and the Rewa River were the stations of Seru and Suva, each of them strongly occupied ; at the latter place the king and queen headed the Christian movement. The Naitasiri and Nakelo stations lay nearer to Rewa, both in populous regions ; in the District around the former town two-thirds of the people had been won to the *lotu*, at the latter place Mr. and Mrs. Moore had been detained on their way back to Rewa from Mbau, and had won over its chief, Ra Ngata, a stout-hearted heathen and one of the most dangerous enemies of Mbau. The people of Nakelo were reputed amongst the worst cannibals in Fiji. From this date a radical change in their disposition began, and a chief stone of offence in the quarrels between Rewa and Mbau was removed. The Nakelans were much softened by the sparing of the lives of some of their people captured at the taking of Kamba by the Tongans and Mbauans a little while before. Such was the condition of southern Viti Levu at the time when Fiji was transferred to the Australasian Conference. A great work had been accomplished in a short time, and the whole field was ' white unto harvest.'

In 1856 Mrs. Moore was sent home to Australia in a shattered condition of health, due to the shock of the fire at Rewa and the subsequent hardships the family suffered. Her husband's work would not spare him, and he continued to labour on in Fiji with growing efficiency for thirteen years, until his strength also failed and he withdrew to Australia, after officiating for three years as Chairman of the District. William Moore attained a good old age, dying in 1893 in the forty-fourth year of his ministry. In a letter to James Calvert (then in England) dated March, 1857, Moore described the extraordinary enlargement of his Circuit. Nearly the whole of the large island of Kandavu (100 miles south from Viti Levu), he writes, is ' under our instruction,' and ripe for the appointment of a

Missionary.¹ In the smaller island of Mbengga, nearer the coast, 'the work prospers'; at the island of Vatulele, to the south-west, all were Christians. At all the principal towns along the south coast of Viti Levu teachers were stationed. Ra Ngata at Nakelo is now baptized, also the chief of Naitasiri; many others evidence a concern for their souls. But not half the people in this Circuit are yet *lotu*. . . . The great work of teaching has to be done; and unless we can get more help, how is it to be done? I begin to fear that the colonies will not be able, however willing they may be, to supply the men and means for this Mission. The missionary fire does not burn hotly (there). The thirst is rather for gold than souls. . . . I am willing to stay and die in Fiji. . . . I should look at it as an affliction, a trial, a judgement, should I from family circumstances be obliged to quit the field of labour. As a District we are all fully devoted to our work, and determined to labour for the salvation of Fiji.

Moore deplores the raw, untrained condition of most of the Native agents. 'What can we expect from them?' he asks. 'Fiji will have a frothy religion unless we get more help.' He looks beyond the Australian Conference to England, and claims British Methodism as the 'one father' of Fijian Christianity. But the home Connexion found its other overseas offspring more than enough for it to maintain; the South Sea Missions had been devolved on the neighbouring colonies just because of the overburdened condition of British Methodism. New men continued to be furnished by the parent Mission Society for the South Seas from time to time at the request of the Australian Committee, but financial aid was limited to the yearly decreasing grant received under the agreement of 1855. Moore writes about the same date to John Eggleston, the Missionary Secretary in Sydney, in a similar strain, scouting the idea entertained, as he thinks, in the colonies that 'Fiji is saved. More than half this Circuit,' he says, 'is still heathen,' and the people are 'killing and devouring each other daily.'

A year later Eggleston reports:

Mr. Moore has just sent me a letter full of triumphant joy. His Circuit is spreading, and the work deepening. They will have an

¹ In 1859 the first Missionary was stationed here. Next year Kandavu figures as head of a new Circuit, with two English Missionaries, and Paul Vea as Assistant Missionary. Kandavu was important not only in virtue of its size, fertility, and its salubrious climate, but because it lay on the track of ocean navigation. Many vessels coming from the south-west call here which touch at no other point in Fiji. Kandavu became in a few years the seat, instead of Rewa, of the Native training institution for the District.

increase this year of 1,000 Church members, and the same number on trial for membership.

The conversion of Thakombau and the pro-Christian revolution at Mbau had caused a strong tide toward the *lotu* to set in all over Fiji, which rose highest in southern Viti Levu. In the mass movement which had now begun the Missionaries felt themselves overwhelmed; they needed an army of teachers to cope with the numbers seeking instruction, where they had but a handful, themselves mere children in knowledge. Had the need been adequately met, a more solid and stable Christianity might have been built up in Fiji. Australia had a too onerous burden thrown upon her in this crisis, which she bore resolutely and faithfully, with undeveloped resources. Alas, the schism in British Methodism, impairing its strength and chilling its missionary zeal, arrested the outflow of its vital currents to the ends of the earth when their replenishment was most needed.

The Somosomo station embraced in its circuit the coast of Vanua Levu and the smaller north-eastern islands of the archipelago, joining hands on that side of Fiji, with Lakemba, to the south-east. The Mbua and Nandi Circuits succeeded to its task of evangelizing Vanua Levu. Mbua, which stood in close political association with Viwa and Verani, received a teacher as early as 1843; two years later it reported 300 Christian converts. But amongst Verani's wives had been a daughter of the King of Mbua. This chief was mortally offended at her renunciation by the Viwa prince on his becoming Christian. A fierce persecution ensued; the chapel and teacher's house were burnt; the *lotu* people were plundered and harassed, and Christianity proscribed. In 1847 Tui Mbua died, when the refusal of the Christians to take part in the funeral ceremonies (including the strangling of three of the chief's wives) further exasperated the heathen.

However, by the time of Williams' removal hither (November, 1847) the persecution had subsided and the outlook was more cheering. As in the first instance at Rewa, the Mbuan Mission house was planted in a village (Tiliva) on the side of the river opposite to the principal town. Tiliva was inhabited by refugees from villages destroyed in the fighting that had been rife in this district for years past. The people

were the most indolent and poverty-stricken in Fiji, and of a poor physique ; Williams ascribed their inferior condition to the effects of incessant war. Infanticide, as well as cannibalism, was fearfully prevalent amongst them. Under Christian teaching they visibly improved, and the *lotu* made rapid progress in the intervals of peace. Superintendent Lawry, accompanied by Mr. Hunt, brought the Williams to Mbua ; he went away in good hope for the station. Mr. Williams' situation at Mbua, however, proved as precarious as at Somosomo. While the people were friendly, the new chief was a deadly enemy ; he gave it out that he meant to kill the Missionary, appropriate his wife, destroy the Mission premises, and distribute the spoil amongst his warriors. He was planning war against the island of Mathuata, north of the mainland, and in preparation for this campaign attacked a number of Christian villages, when he was entrapped and killed by a neighbouring heathen chief whom he had insulted, and the Mission was saved. The next Tui Mbua was tolerant and sometimes friendly.

At this stage the way opened for the occupation of the Yasawa group of islands, which stretches in a long line to the west of Viti Levu. Here Williams settled his most efficient teacher. The Yasawa islanders were uncommonly gentle and tractable. Though without an English colleague, Williams took many voyages along the coast of the great island, reconnoitring especially its northern shore, and planting teachers, when available, at the likeliest openings. He found much of the soil hard and unyielding ; but in the villages near to Mbua there was progress. In August, 1849, he reports :

During the past year not less than 130 have been converted in this Circuit. There is an increase of 92 Church members, and there are 69 on trial ; 140 persons, chiefly adults, have been baptized. The total number of persons meeting in Class is over 320 ; and I suppose we have beside these nearly 200 hearers.

Williams was a great builder. Seconded by the Christian chief of Tiliva, he erected at this village a chapel excelling in structure and beauty anything hitherto seen in Fiji. The whole Christian community took a pride in the work, and the heathen Tui Mbua lent his help.

Often [Williams writes], whilst superintending their operations, have I heard the builders cheer each other by chanting, ' I was glad when

they said to me, Let us go into the house of the Lord ' ; ' But will God in very deed dwell upon earth ? Behold, the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee ; how much less this house that I have builded ! ' To this another party would respond, ' The Lord hath chosen Zion ; He hath desired it for His habitation,'

and so on. A superior Mission-house was also built ; the whole Mission premises were such as to supply a model for other stations.

So for three years, amidst many adversaries, the work thrived in and around Mbua. Then the chronic war was revived in 1850, and Tui Mbua attacked unjustly a stronghold where a Christian party had taken refuge. He was foiled, and confessed, ' The prayers of the Christians are more powerful than our arms ! ' On the breaking out of a second war, soon after this, the king, with five of his headmen, joined the *lotu*. Williams induced him to offer peace, and a reconciliation was effected ; the chief on the other side, though desirous to ' remain a heathen a little longer,' yielded to the Missionary's persuasions. At the peace conference Tui Mbua said in the course of his speech :

People of Na Sau [the enemy town], I am a Christian, but of only one night's growth ; so that my mind is a heathen mind, and I am afraid of you. You too are Christians of a night more than myself ; so your minds are heathen minds, and you are afraid of me. But that is now done with ; let us no longer fear one another, but let us now love each other, as these our friends [the missionary party] do. . . . We saw the *lotu* ; it came on each side of us, and by this war it has captured us. This *lotu* is a strange thing ! . . . Men of Na Sau, let us give both our hands to the spade ; pour out the powder from the powder-house of your guns . . . and let us be determined for peace. . . . I am a Christian ; perhaps you think I have put on a mask and that plots are under it. No, I am sincere. In the face of the Missionary and the Christian chiefs, and of yourselves, I speak it, and let all hear : *I am a Christian*. I meant to be one. . . . We have had war ; our friends have fallen its victims ; but that is past ; let us now all be for peace. The man who after this causes war to rise shall be known to us all. I speak for friendship, love, and peace.

Sad to relate, Tui Mbua, after this oration, which reflected much that was passing through the minds of Fijian rulers, through evil advisers ' turned aside like a deceitful bow.' Ratu Elijah Verani early in 1851 visited western Vanua Levu, hoping to bring about a general peace. He made his way,

unarmed, to Nawatha, the only town remaining belligerent, where he had much influence, accompanied by Tui Mbua and a young Christian chief named George, the nephew of the latter. Approaching Nawatha, the company of peacemakers were fired upon from an ambush, and George and a young teacher in the party received fatal wounds. There was evidence that the Mbuan chief was accessory to the plot; the shots were intended for Verani, by way of blood-revenge for the death of certain Mbuans killed by the latter in his unregenerate days. So Tui Mbua's treachery recoiled upon himself, and Verani escaped. Chief George's death was a severe loss to the Christian cause. This incident stirred up the slumbering passions of the heathen, and the Mission was again hindered through the unsettling of the district and the distrust revived against Tui Mbua.

About this time the death took place, in Mbua Circuit, of the young teacher, Stephen Thevalala—a sample 'of many who nobly and faithfully served God' in preaching the Gospel to their Fijian fellow countrymen. Williams writes of him:

A refugee from his Native village on a small island forty miles from Mbua, when a youth Stephen became my servant on the island of Lakemba.¹ His situation allowed him time for improvement. He learned to read well and to write tolerably, and improved his stock of knowledge.

After three years of this employment, 'he left me to visit his friends, hoping to be owned of God in their conversion from heathenism.' He failed in that endeavour; but Mr. Hunt, meeting with Thevalala at this stage, 'appointed him teacher on an adjoining island, from which he came in 1848 to help me,' writes Williams, 'in the Mbua Circuit.' He was stationed 'amongst a remarkably trying people,' from whom he suffered hardships that hastened his end. Thevalala's friends decided

¹ Many of the most useful helpers in the Mission began in this way. There was no foolish contempt for manual labour and domestic service in the Fijian nature. The highest chiefs assisted in the field and the fishing and the housebuilding; when on friendly terms with the Missionary, they were glad to have their children employed in his service and taught European arts and manners. Such inmates commonly became attached to the Mission; and young men who, with the opportunities of instruction thus afforded, showed talent and fitness of character, not infrequently became teachers, and sometimes Ministers in the Church. The teachers imported from Tonga were often, too, of chieftain rank, a status which added much to their authority. In Polynesia generally commanding ability goes with higher breeding; the ruling families are commonly superior both in bodily and mental force.

to remove him to Tiliva, in the hope of physical relief. Before his going he gathered the village people round him and said :

My removal may not profit me ; I may die ; and if so, it is well. Only do not let my death surprise you, or enfeeble your hearts. . . . Hold firmly your Christianity. Missionaries die in this work which they engage in for our sakes ; their wives die ; their children die ; so why should we refuse to die ?

The end came in the course of the journey.

I shall not reach our father at Tiliva [he said] ; I shall reach heaven first ! . . . Jesus is my friend, and through Him I shall enter there.

He wept, and when they asked why, he answered : ' I pity you. . . . I leave you in the midst of war to enter a heaven of peace ! ' Such was the faith and spirit of the Fijian servant of Christ, who passed out of great tribulation with robes washed in the Lamb's blood.

Five years of toil at Mbua told on the vigorous health of Mr. and Mrs. Williams. It was a great relief when the Moores came to join them in 1852. For the new-comers a house was built on the Mbua side of the river, nearer the heathen folk. The war which had smouldered for some years now blazed up in fury. At much personal risk, the Missionaries visited the combatants on both sides, making unwearied efforts for peace. Sir Everard Home, Commander of H.M.S. *Calliope*, was in Fijian waters in the autumn of 1852 ; and Mr. Calvert, then living at Viwa, persuaded him to visit Mbua. He took with him Elijah Verani and an ambassador from Thakombau to negotiate a settlement. An assembly of chiefs of the district was convened ; and, under Sir Everard's presidency, with the help of the Missionaries and Verani, terms of agreement were arrived at, and the old feud was at last stayed. Henceforward ' the Word of the Lord had free course and was glorified ' in the Mbua Circuit.

Williams wrote a little later :

I have often had cause to be thankful that a second Missionary was placed in this Circuit. Had I been left alone the work must have been left undone, or I must have sunk under its exhausting demands.

Despite the help now afforded, the elder Missionary's health rapidly declined, and in July, 1853, Thomas Williams closed

his thirteen years of most fruitful missionary work in Fiji by removal to the Australian colonies. Here his resumed ministry was greatly valued. He died in 1891, fulfilling a course of more than half a century.

William Moore succeeded to the charge of the difficult Mbua Circuit, which was shaken about this time through the murder of Verani. Next year Moore was removed to Rewa, and John Malvern took his place. The Circuit made steady advance, alike in its area of occupation, the number of its people, and the quality of its Christianity. Heathenism continued to be powerful and combative, along the coast as well as in the interior of the island, stubbornly maintaining the old evil custom. The heathen chiefs banded together to oppose the *lotu*; their hope lay in successful war, for which they laid many plans. Verani's fall for the time gave them great encouragement. Malvern, left alone on the station, was overborne by excess of toil. In May, 1856, he writes :

My health during the last six months has failed ; the heat of this station has overpowered me. . . . I have scarcely been able to attend to my work. My family also has been much afflicted. . . . But in the midst of our trials the work of the Lord prospers. . . . We have now forty-three Christian towns in this department of the Fijian field.

A thousand attendants on public worship were counted where a year before there were 600. He speaks of 'two thousand who bow the knee to the Saviour,' for half of whom no teachers are forthcoming ; 'the harvest has far outstripped the labourers.' Before this date, in August, 1855, Tui Mbua, who had for long halted and sometimes played a double part, threw in his lot with the *lotu*, joining hands with his neighbour, Ra Hezekiah Vunindanga, of Tiliva, who had from the first been a thorough friend of the Mission and for some years a useful Local Preacher—'a very sensible and persevering man,' writes Williams. Before the end of 1856 Malvern's strength gave way, and he was compelled to seek a healthier station, William Wilson ('Fiji Wilson,' as he was afterwards known) being his successor. Malvern succeeded Calvert in the Chair of the District ; but it soon appeared that health was no longer possible for him in the tropics, and in 1859 he bade good-bye to Fiji. This good soldier of Christ added to his twelve years' missionary ministry a long course of service in the home field, dying at an advanced age in 1901.

In 1855, when the Australian Conference took over the Mission, the Church membership of the Mbua Circuit numbered 260 ; its single White Missionary was assisted by eight catechists, ten day-school teachers, and six Local Preachers. There were four chapels in the Circuit, and twelve other preaching-places, with six day-schools. Though often sorely bested, the Mbua Mission was never driven out, but grew from strength to strength.

Of Nandi a different tale has to be told. Its Mission commenced simultaneously with that of Mbua, Joel Bulu being the first teacher posted here. John Watsford and James Ford were the earliest English Missionaries, arriving in November, 1847, accompanied by their wives. In twelve months the Fords succumbed to sickness, and Watsford was needed at Lakemba. David Hazlewood succeeded the latter, and bore the brunt of the severest trials without a colleague.¹ In this unhealthy spot he lost first a child and then his wife, within the same month of February, 1849. The three motherless children found homes with other Missionaries, and Hazlewood remained at his post, giving himself to the preparation of his Fijian *Grammar* and *Dictionary*, while faithfully prosecuting the work of the Mission. The Nandi Circuit sought extension along the south of Vanua Levu, while Mbua Circuit covered the west and the northern shore. Hazlewood was joined by Moore, from Australia, early in 1850 ; and the latter was left alone to manage the Circuit after but eight months' experience of Fiji—an extreme trial for the novice, which he bore successfully—while his Superintendent visited the colonies, to return a year later accompanied by a second wife. Hazlewood brought on his return a pair of riding-horses, the gift of an Australian friend ; the first animals of the kind landed in Fiji, these creatures filled the people with affright. By their help the work of the Mission was much facilitated ; Mbua and Nandi came into regular communication. Moore was removed to Mbua to assist Williams in his broken health, and Polglase joined Hazlewood at Nandi.

Up to this date (1853) there had been satisfactory, if not rapid, advance in the work of the Nandi Mission ; but stormy

¹ Throughout the early and often terrible days of the Fijian Mission one cannot but see what an ill economy of life and strength it was to allow Missionaries to remain in solitary stations.

times now began. The Christian chief relapsed, and the aggressions of the heathen became violent. Quarrels grew into open war, and the anxieties of the situation so told upon Mr. Hazlewood that his strength somewhat suddenly failed him, and he had to retreat to New South Wales toward the close of this year. There he lived long enough to finish the translation of the Old Testament, thus completing the work of John Hunt. He died 'happy in God' on October 30, 1855, having reached only his thirty-sixth year—at nearly the same age as his fellow translator. His work on the language, which showed extraordinary industry and philological acuteness and accuracy, set the knowledge of Fijian upon a sound scientific basis.

Hazlewood and Polglase were followed by Malvern and Samuel Waterhouse in the Nandi Circuit. With the former we are already acquainted. Samuel was the younger of two heroic sons of John Waterhouse settled in the colonies, who consecrated themselves to the Fiji Mission. In a year's time another change became necessary. Malvern was removed to Mbua, and John S. Fordham, newly arrived from England—a man of a nature no less strong than gentle, and of superior ability—became Waterhouse's colleague. Mrs. Waterhouse died at Nandi in April, 1856. Her husband's health was much impaired, and he retired in 1857 to Tasmania, cherishing the hope of renewing his labours in Fiji—an expectation never realized. Samuel Waterhouse's glowing zeal and evangelistic power told for great good in the colonies. Fordham was transferred from Nandi to Mbua; and the Synod of 1857 sent, at his own desire, John Crawford—a volunteer from the colonies and 'a tried man of great energy of character and vigorous health' to cope with the difficulties of this station. He resided for a while at Mbua with William Wilson, supervising Nandi by occasional visits. In October Crawford took up his residence there; but in two months a violent attack of dysentery forced him to retire with his wife to Ovalau, where he died in January following. The frequent changes and losses in the staff of the Nandi Circuit militated against its welfare, especially now that the cloud of war and persecution had settled upon it. When Crawford's place remained unfilled and the station, through shortage of men, was left with no White Missionary, the rage of the heathen of southern Vanua Levu broke forth unchecked. In April, 1858, they were joined by Mara, the mischief-maker

of Fiji at this period, and by Tui Levuka, of Ovalau ; the combined forces overpowered the scattered Christians, captured Nandi, and destroyed the Mission house. Only the King of Levuka's veto prevented a general massacre of the *lotu*-folk in the district ; they suffered every kind of spoliation and indignity.

So the Nandi Mission came to an end, after fifteen years of painful but not unfruitful sowing. A goodly number of its converts survived the wreck, and carried the seed of the Gospel to other parts of Fiji. But the Nandi Mission-house, built by John Watsford, was never restored, nor the Mission resumed at this centre. The south coast of Vanua Levu was subsequently evangelized from its eastern instead of its western extremity. An important town sprang up on the mainland opposite to Somosomo, in which the dynasty of the latter capital established itself, retaining a measure of its old political sway. Here in the early sixties a new station was opened, under the name of ' Fawn Harbour ' or ' Thakaundrovu ' (Cacondrovi), and of which Somosomo and Nandi were made sub-stations. The new Mission fell on the more prosperous times lying beyond our purview.

We have now travelled round the circumference of the District in reviewing its development during the years between the death of John Hunt and the annexation to Australia. The critical events of the period, decisive of the future of Christianity in Fiji, took place at the centre where the principal station of Viwa lay two miles distant from Mbau, the virtual capital of the archipelago. The fact that Hunt and the other Bible-translators took the Mbau dialect as their standard of Fijian speech indicated the importance attaching to this focus of Fijian life and movement. The Viwa Circuit, bereft of John Hunt, was occupied by the two strongest men remaining to the Mission, Richard Lyth and James Calvert, the former being placed in the Chair of the District. Public preaching was still forbidden in Mbau itself ; but a chapel was allowed at Sembi, close by on the mainland, a place accessible from Mbau by a causeway dry at low tide. To this spot the Mbauans freely resorted, and a number of the chief women of the Court became Christians. The old heathen King Tanoa, whose official title was *Vu-ni-valu* (*Root-of-war*), still lived ; on the whole he was

friendly toward the Missionaries, but remained deaf to their appeals in matters of religion and heathen custom.

Tanoa's son Thakombau, the real wielder of the royal power, presented a paradox of singular interest. By all who met him he was recognized as a man of great intelligence and acuteness, as well as of imposing presence and fine address ; his talk was full of humour and shrewdness. In ability as a ruler he had scarcely his equal in Polynesia. He not only tolerated the Missionaries, but appreciated them. John Hunt he confessedly revered, and James Calvert he loved, knowing well that they were bent on his conversion. He recognized the power and charm of Christianity and acknowledged his conviction that it must prevail in Fiji, while he saw through, and sometimes openly derided, the tricks of the heathen priests. The conversion of his bosom friend Verani strongly affected him, and softened his attitude towards Christianity ; he could not bring himself to execute his passionately uttered threats against the former accomplice of his evil deeds. In his better moods Thakombau delighted to discuss religion with the Missionaries, making the frankest admissions of the follies of his own system. He was moved by the remonstrances of European visitors against cannibalism and widow-strangling, and repeatedly promised, not without sincerity, that these practices should cease. Yet the power of custom held him in an iron grasp. The Fijian blood-thirst and licentiousness ran in his veins like the passions of a wild beast. He meant to be master of Fiji, and he saw no way to domination but along the old paths of force and frightfulness. The religion of Jesus, he constantly told the Missionaries, would ' tie his hands ! ' When the war was over and he could afford to rest in peace, then he would become Christian, and all Fiji with him. Meanwhile, he must keep to the accustomed ways—Fijians would understand no other ; he must have the help of the gods, since the new God forbade his fighting and revelling, nay, He already thwarted him by disarming his warriors and raising scruples and embarrassments in his path. The spread of Christianity, he foresaw, would bridle his despotism. At the same time Thakombau represented what there was of settled government in Fiji. He was thrown more and more on Christian support and identified with the Christian cause, as the rebels against his rule associated themselves, in almost every instance, with

thoroughgoing heathenism, and appealed to Fijian superstitions. His judgement and conscience were with the *lotu*, and the force of events drew him that way, while his policy and his passions remained persistently heathen.

Calvert, on coming to Viwa, set his heart upon Thakombau's conversion ; at the same time he resolved to be quite firm with him, and to resist all grasping and overbearing on the king's part. Hunt had scarcely known how to refuse anything he was asked to give, and Thakombau had taken advantage of his generosity. This lavishness ceased, and the check earned additional respect for the Mission. Contentions, however, were inevitable. Man-eating had become restrained at Mbau, and the perpetrators sought to conceal its horrors from the Missionaries. But it happened that while the latter were both absent at Synod visitors came to Mbau to whom the honour of a special banquet was due. A hunt was made for victims, and, as enemy corpses were just then unprocurable, a company of fourteen women belonging to a peaceful village at some distance from Mbau was captured to supply the table for the guests. Thakombau was away from home, and Tanoa appears to have been responsible for this crime. News came to Viwa of these proceedings, and Mrs. Calvert and Mrs. Lyth at once set out by boat to plead for the lives of the hapless women. Landing at Mbau, they found the murder already begun ; the air was filled with the rattle of the death-drum, the shrieks of victims, and the fiendish cries of the gloating cannibals. A Christian chief dared to join the two Missionaries' wives, and led them unhurt through the blood-maddened crowd to Tanoa's house. Entrance was strictly forbidden to women ; but the guards fell back amazed at the portent of the ladies' challenge. With unheard-of daring, they pressed into the old king's chamber, where they offered, with suitable presents, their protests and petition. Startled into compliance, Tanoa answered : ' Those who are dead are dead ; but those who are still alive shall live.' Five of the doomed women were saved. Two of these had already been spared through the intercession of Thakombau's chief wife and the wife of Ngavindi, the director of the horrid ceremonies and a professed friend of the Missionaries, whom Mesdames Calvert and Lyth found out and rebuked before they left Mbau.

This captain of cannibals—a man of prepossessing manners,

described as 'modest and gentle' by Captain Erskine, of the Royal Navy, who visited Mbau about this time—fell in battle not long after the above occurrence. At Ngavindi's death three of his women were strangled. The chief wife was sister to Thakombau, who was proceeding himself to put the cord round her neck when the objection of her pregnancy was raised, whereupon the dead man's mother volunteered in her place and was strangled by the king. Calvert arrived to find the tragedy finished. Thakombau took patiently the severe reproof addressed to him, and said afterwards :

Aye ! how the Missionaries labour to save life ! They take any trouble and go anywhere for our salvation ; and we are always trying to kill one another ! What a pity he was too late ! Had he been in time I would have spared Ngavindi's mother.

Previously to this the captains of two of Her Majesty's ships-of-war had visited Mbau in turn, revealing to Thakombau and the Fijians the power of the British Navy. Both these commanders, in speech and by letter, expostulated with the king on the barbarous practices of the islands, and warned him of their consequences. He then promised desistence—indeed, the neighbourhood of the British vessels had greatly reduced, if not entirely prevented, the bloodshed usually attending the visit of the Somosomans to Mbau, which happened at that date.

An acute difference with Thakombau arose some time after this, when it was discovered that he was accessory to the attacks of the heathen on the Mission stations in western Vanua Levu, by which the lives of Williams and Moore were endangered. Accompanied by Ratu Verani, Calvert went to expostulate with Thakombau and to insist on his stopping the Vanua war, reminding him of the undertaking given to Captain Erskine to protect the Missionaries.

I shall not protect them [he answered], and I rejoice that you have now a fight of your own. When I ask you *lotu*-people to help me in war, you say : ' No ; it is not lawful for Christians to fight ! ' and here are we breaking our backs by steering our canoes, catching dysentery by sleeping abroad in the dews and rains, and being shot in great numbers, whilst the Christians sit quietly at home all the time. Now you have a fight of your own, and I am glad of it ! Besides, *I hate your Christianity !*

I know that [said the Missionary], and have long known that everywhere ' the carnal mind is enmity against God ' ; . . . I should have been altogether surprised if I had not found you hating religion.

With a sneer the king said : ' Oh, yes, of course you know everything ! However, I shall not stop the fight ; and I rejoice that you *lotu*-folk are compelled to fight as well as we ; and I *hate* your Christianity.' ' Well,' said Calvert, ' what are you going to do with it ? Do you intend to stop its progress ? ' ' No,' was the answer, ' I cannot do that. I know that it is true and the work of God, and that we shall all become Christians. But in the meantime I delight in your Christians being compelled to engage in war as well as we.'

Calvert then sailed to the seat of the disturbance, conveyed by a Tongan crew, and attempted himself to bring about a truce. He had little success, when a party of the Tongans accompanying him were wantonly attacked and four of them killed. The body of one of these was sent to Mbau, with a prayer for interference. By this turn of affairs Thakombau was alarmed, and used his authority to patch up an agreement. Thakombau's replies to Calvert and Verani when, somewhat earlier, they pleaded for the lives of the people of a town the Vunivalu had conquered, were very characteristic. To the Missionary he said :

I know you are here to make our land right ; but do not interfere in this case. Let me destroy this troublesome people, and we shall have rest.

To Elijah :

You are no help to me now ; be no hindrance. Had you joined me in fighting, and desired peace, I should have complied. The reward of your not helping is the refusal of your request !

Lyth and Calvert continued the voyages round the coast of Viti Levu and amongst the adjacent islands which Hunt had begun, visiting and inspecting the stations that were established and seeking opportunities for planting new stations. The first of these rounds was taken by Lyth in 1848, on the missionary ship *John Wesley*. He found the work advancing in Kandavu and Nandronga. In the latter place the chief Lua had accepted *lotu*. Lyth described him as ' a kind, intelligent, and particularly modest man, very zealous to commend to others the religion he had embraced.' On the north-east coast, at Nakorotumbu, ' a large and attentive congregation ' had been gathered and a Church of thirty-seven members formed ; at the important town of Mba, on the north-west side of Viti Levu,

the *lotu* had taken deep root, though it by no means 'filled the land.' This station had been a special object of concern to John Hunt, who speaks of Mba as 'a place of bad report' but made some good friends there. Strategic positions had thus been seized all round Viti Levu. Next year Calvert went the same round of visitation, including Rotuma, far to the north, and carried the Gospel to new towns in the neighbourhood of Mba. In one of these places he narrowly escaped the avenging hand of a chief waiting his opportunity to exact blood-revenge from some white man for the shooting, long ago, of one of his people by an American ship-captain. Such liabilities formed a constant peril attending the journeys of Missionaries in the South Seas. Bishop Patteson's life many years later was forfeited through the same cause.

In 1850 several encouraging signs appeared at Viwa and Mbau. The first missionary meeting was held in the former place, over which Captain Buck, of the *John Wesley*, presided. The White residents assisted with handsome subscriptions; the Natives contributed a wonderful assortment of gifts, including clubs and spears, combs and fans, a pillow and a pig! Public opinion in Mbau was steadily tending toward the *lotu*. Na Yangondamu, the Vunivalu's cousin, was the first (among the men) of the Mbau nobility to 'break the ice' hitherto firm against the softening influences of the Gospel. Thakombau was disturbed at the defection, and said to Mr. Calvert when he begged protection for the convert:

Why do you not wait patiently for a short time, as I requested you, that I may settle my wars and become Christian, when all will follow? But you go about here and there, and talk, and talk, at a great rate, and now actually one of my own family has become *lotu*! But he will not be followed.

Thakombau's 'convenient season' had not arrived. He would have forbidden the Missionary's private visits to Mbau, but could not find it in his heart to do this. 'Great is our mutual love,' he said; 'so your body must be allowed to go about, and your tongue to move.'

It was difficult for Thakombau, after this, to refuse the long-promised building of a Mission-house at the capital. The war preparations then going on supplied a pretext for delay. The Mbau chieftain had considerable success in the campaigns of

this year, though he lost a valuable lieutenant by the fall of Nagbindi, Captain of the Fishermen. Victory hardened him against the *lotu*, and the services at Sembi were stopped ; but in Viwa, and throughout the sphere of its influence, the *lotu* spread and grew.

In November, 1850, Joseph Waterhouse—an Australian recruit, like his brother Samuel—was added to the staff. ‘Never,’ it is said in *Fiji and Fijians*, ‘did a more ready labourer enter on his work. Mr. Waterhouse was willing to go anywhere, and do anything, so that he might be useful.’ ‘A most heroic and effective Missionary,’ writes Robert Young. His constitution bore the Fijian climate better than that of his brother ; he laboured continuously in the islands from 1850 to 1857, when severe prostration drove him back to Australia. Two years later he returned, but again ‘worked himself almost to death.’ Calvert found him in the Chair of the District on coming back to Fiji in 1861. In 1864 Joseph Waterhouse was compelled finally to abandon the missionary work. He ministered for seventeen years thereafter in the colonies, where he met his death by drowning. The vessel that brought the new Missionary (in 1850) conveyed also to Mr. and Mrs. Calvert the mournful tidings of the death of their eldest child Mary, a girl of the fairest promise,¹ who died soon after reaching England.

Ovalau had now acquired a position of influence in Fijian affairs. This was an island of moderate size but populous, situated north of Mbau and Viwa and about fifteen miles eastward from Viti Levu. Its principal town, Levuka, possessed a good harbour and anchorage, on the east side of the island ; the place had become the chief residence of the White settlers in Fiji—most of them traders or mechanics, with a handful of planters. These men, who lived generally in irregular marriage with Fijian women, held considerable property in the islands, and formed a community of growing power. By constant gifts they had kept on good terms with Tui Levuka, the chief of the District, and for the most part with the overlord at Mbau. But their interests clashed with those of Thakombau, who grew jealous of their wealth and independence, and taxed their trade severely. They gave him a handle against them

¹ A touching memoir of Mary Calvert was written by G. S. Rowe under the title of *A Flower from Fiji*.

by aiding a White man of Rewa who had sided with Mbau's enemies. Tui Levuka was also impatient of their domineering ways. Consequently, in 1844, they were ordered to quit Levuka, and did so at a heavy sacrifice. Their new location, on Vanua Levu, proved unhealthy and inconvenient ; and they were glad to return to Ovalau, when four years later the kings, who found themselves losers by the diminution of trade, invited them back. The rift, however, between the Vunivalu and the white people of Levuka was never closed, and before long a fresh dispute arose, in which Tui Levuka took part with the foreigners. This quarrel was a main factor in the decline of Thakombau's dominion during the early fifties. The respectable Whites of Levuka were friendly to the Mission, some of them rendering it valuable help ; others, however, were its unscrupulous opposers, being angered at the checks it put on their libertinism and their exploitation of the Natives.

As early as May, 1839, Cargill and Calvert had touched at Levuka, where they were wind-bound for a fortnight. They preached to the White residents, and formed friendships with the best of them. Next year a piece of land was given to the Mission, and in September, 1841, Mr. Cross settled two Native teachers there, largely with a view to the benefit of the numerous coloured children, who were growing up in barbarism. On his appointment to Viwa in 1842 John Hunt realized the importance of the Levuka community and its religious needs. He gathered a regular English congregation in the place, and married a number of the White residents to their native partners. Several of their boys he took into his care at Viwa, foreseeing that the Anglo-Fijian offspring would become a great power for good or evil in the islands. The breaking up of the White community in 1844 arrested this promising work at Ovalau. It was resumed in 1849, when Calvert witnessed a marked improvement in the restored colony, on whose behalf he appealed to England for a qualified schoolmaster. The Native teachers made converts among the Fijians of Ovalau, upon whom the presence of white men had exercised in various respects a harmful influence. Tui Levuka himself, a man of shifty and dangerous character, preferred to renounce heathenism, and opened his house to the Gospel, at the same time requesting an English Missionary for his town. Even the wild inland mountaineers, who were independent of Levuka,

invited Paul Veá, the Tongan teacher then stationed on the Ovalau coast, to live amongst them.

At the end of 1851 Joseph Waterhouse, after a few months at Viwa, was put in charge of the Ovalau Mission ; six months later John Binner, who was a trained schoolmaster and a Local Preacher, arrived to take the direction of the school of 80 Anglo-Fijian children Waterhouse had organized, which quickly doubled its numbers. The Romanists secured a precarious footing here about the same time. Mr. and Mrs. Binner lived and worked in Ovalau for many years, acquiring a great personal influence and doing much to elevate the foreign community in Fiji. In 1853 the Missionary was withdrawn from the island ; the schoolmaster remained, a tower of strength. It was not until after the régime of the Australasian Conference began that the Circuit of Ovalau was properly constituted.

Meanwhile momentous events occurred at Mbau. Toward the end of 1852 the long-anticipated death of King Tanoa took place. To the last he remained obdurate to the Christian influences brought to bear upon him, and died as he had lived, a proud, impenitent heathen. His son had been warned from many quarters against the widow-strangling customary at a chief's death ; he was understood to have promised that the murderous custom should be broken. Watsford was the only Missionary at hand when Tanoa's imminent death was reported¹ ; he went across immediately from Viwa to Mbau, and entered the king's house. First he appealed to the women who had been singled out as Tanoa's companions in death ; one of them impudently answered : ' Who fears hell-fire ? We shall jump in there the day the King dies ! ' Finding Thakombau, with his chiefs gathered around him, awaiting the end, Watsford exerted all his powers of argument and expostulation, but in vain. He pleaded until midnight, and backed his entreaties by the offer of the Mission whale-boat, then of all his personal property ; the assembly was unmoved. Returning early next morning, he saw six biers standing at the king's door, and knew that five of the royal wives, at least, were designated to share their lord's grave. The work of execution had begun round Tanoa's couch. When Watsford entered, a

¹ Watsford had shortly before this returned to Fiji, and was Calvert's colleague in the Viwa Circuit.

second of the victims was kneeling with the fatal cord about her throat ; the missionary recognized her—she was a professing Christian—and he sickened at the sight. Before he could speak life was extinct. This wretched woman had faltered when her turn came, and besought time for prayer. After a short delay she rose and spat on her husband's corpse and came forward, shouting : ' Ah, you old wretch, I shall be in hell with you directly ! ' Thus she met her death. At this point Thakombau, whose office it was, according to Fijian usage, to draw tight the strangling-cord, caught sight of the Missionary. Trembling with fear, and revolting from his task, he cried : ' What about it, Mr. Watsford ? ' With difficulty Watsford made his reply : ' Refrain, sir ! That is plenty ; two are dead. Refrain. I love them.' The chief said : ' We also love them. They are not many—only five ! But for you Missionaries there would have been many more.'

The third victim was a substitute in her sister's place, who had a son to rear. A fine woman, splendidly dressed and proud of the occasion, she pushed forward eagerly, offering, as she passed, her hand to the Missionary in jest ; he repelled it with horror. She examined the cord to be used upon her, and finding it shabby, called for a new one, while the company greeted her beauty and her pride with acclamation. Thakombau played his part to the end of the scene, but with extreme discomposure ; he would have spared the fifth bride of death ; but she would not be excused, and her own son lent a hand to the strangling. Although protests against this frightful sacrifice had been multiplied in vain, it was the last of the kind in Mbau. The king himself, whose reign was thus inaugurated, was shaken with remorse.

Some time earlier than this Thakombau had been seized with the ambition to possess a ship of foreign build, equal to those owned by the Kings of Tonga and of the Sandwich Islands, and superior to the schooners run by the White traders amongst the islands. He contracted with an American captain to procure for him the coveted object, at a heavy price. Impatient for the appearance of this vessel, and hearing of another on sale in Sydney, in disregard of Calvert's warnings against the extravagance, Thakombau sent an order for the purchase of the Australian boat, which was forwarded to the buyer. In a little while the American vessel arrived, and the

king, who had with difficulty paid an instalment of the amount due on his Australian purchase, now repudiated the later bargain, and asked to have returned to him in the shape of ammunition the value rendered on this account ! In reply, the Australian merchant consented to take the vessel back, but claimed a sum *additional* to that already paid to compensate for breach of contract and incidental expenses. Beside the chagrin and the financial loss suffered by the new Vunivalu, this transaction lowered his prestige in the eyes of his own people. The American vessel had still to be paid for, and Thakombau made use of it to sail up and down amongst the subject towns and islands, levying contributions for this purpose. The king discovered in his first voyage how costly a toy he had secured. When the English commander of the ship protested against employment on such business, he was told that he was welcome to take himself off with his vessel, and he (the Vunivalu) would then be clear of the troublesome bargain ! King George's ship had been wrecked in a storm ; Thakombau bade him thank God for a good riddance ! He stoutly maintained that by returning the vessel he could clear himself of the debt ! Thakombau found, however, that he had tied a millstone about his neck. At the cost of discontent, stirred through a large part of Fiji, he managed to pay half the agreed price of the ship in *bêche-de-mer* ; there, for the present, the matter rested. This and other debts, unscrupulously exploited by the Vunivalu's creditors, in the end dragged his Government into bankruptcy, and compelled him to seek British intervention.

In July, 1853, the time came for the investiture of Thakombau with the title of Vu-ni-valu. The King of Somosomo arrived to assist at this function, with a great retinue and princely gifts. Precedent demanded for such an occasion a feast on human flesh ; in the case of Somosomo this was particularly counted upon. Eighteen captive bodies, living or dead, had been brought from Nakelo, the enemy town not far away—for what purpose every one understood. Calvert hastened to Mbau, obtained an audience with the king, and solemnly forbade the feast. Thakombau listened courteously, but declared it impossible to stay proceedings ; he said he was prepared to go with Mr. Calvert on board the next ship-of-war that visited Mbau and defend his conduct. Calvert told him

that, if the loathsome banquet took place, and man-eating were repeated after the pledges given against it, he would never again stand on the deck of a British vessel nor touch in friendship the hand of any British captain. Thakombau's resolution was visibly shaken, and Calvert left his presence to remonstrate with the executioners, and with the King of Somosomo. Aided by the Australian trader who had conveyed Tui Thakau to Mbau, and vowed he would not take him home if he played the cannibal, by desperate exertions Calvert succeeded in his purpose, although the victims were already killed, except one who had managed to escape, and five were cooking in the ovens. Finally the dead bodies, roasted and unroasted, were surrendered to the Missionary for burial. Thus Calvert completed the partial victory gained by his wife and Mrs. Lyth some years before over the cannibalism of Mbau and Somosomo. Thakombau was enthroned not without slaughter, but without the devouring of the slain. The fame of this achievement resounded through Fiji. Within a few months after the return homeward of Tui Thakau (Kilakila) from this encounter the tragic events came about which brought his bloodstained rule to an end.

The crisis of Fijian history was now approaching. From the date of Thakombau's accession the house of Rewa waxed stronger and stronger, and that of Mbau grew weaker. The Vunivalu's folly in the matter of buying foreign vessels had shaken his reputation for sagacity and successful dealing. The Whites of Ovalau were working against him everywhere, and were supplanting his ally, Elijah Verani, who had considerable property in Ovalau and an hereditary authority over the mountaineers of the interior. In August, 1853, a quarrel arose over the plundering of a Levuka vessel, which occurred at a little town in the north of Viti Levu. The White people proceeded to punish the aggressors, without reference to Mbau about the case; Tui Levuka assisted in the punitive expedition, which resulted in the killing or capture of some thirty of the offending people. This was an act of defiance to the Vunivalu. The Ovalau hillmen at first offered their services to Verani to avenge the insult; whether through their agency or by accident, the town of Levuka was burned down soon after and several merchants' stores were destroyed. Verani, however, declined the assistance of his henchmen, who were

bought over by the other side. Ovalau was now united against Mbau and Viwa. Elijah, anxious to win back the Ovalau seceders and confident in his influence over them, landed on the island unarmed, and went up to the principal inland town, Lavoni, where he had many friends. The venture was fatal. The Viwa chief was waylaid and murdered, with his little party of Christians (only one of whom escaped), by a heathen chief, who had bribed Tui Levuka to the atrocious deed. Some of the Whites, it is shameful to relate, contributed to the price of blood ! So fell, on an errand of peace, the noblest of Fijian Christian men—once the fiercest and most cunning of warriors, who had been changed to a pattern of gentleness, forbearance, and sincerity. Joseph Waterhouse, for the time residing in Ovalau, who was striving hard to keep Levuka and Mbau at peace, obtained Elijah's corpse for burial. Several bodies of the fallen had been carried off and devoured. The bulk of the mountaineers of Ovalau were still heathen, though the *lotu* had a number of converts at Lavoni.

Ovalau was now committed to the war, and its leaders entered into treaty with the King of Rewa. They invited from Lakemba Thakombau's enemy brother Mara, who had been banished thither. The Mission property at Levuka was threatened ; the Binnars withdrew for the time to Lakemba, taking with them the valuables of the Mission. Waterhouse remained at his post until the Synod, which took place at the end of the year. Previously to its meeting, Thakombau was asked once more to admit the residence of a Missionary at Mbau. This time he yielded—through policy, we may suppose, as much as from goodwill. He needed all the friends he could find ; and the presence of the Missionary would be a set-off in his favour against the enmity of the white people of Levuka. Whatever the reasons for it, the concession was a decided step toward the *lotu*. Joseph Waterhouse was chosen to be the first Missionary resident at Mbau. Calvert selected the post of great danger at Ovalau. Tui Levuka, however, and his white allies, prevented Calvert's settlement there. The Levukans were disconcerted by the entrance of the Mission into Mbau, which the ill-disposed traders had for years endeavoured to avert.

Events were conspiring to humble the pride of the Vunivalu ; the omens pointing to his overthrow multiplied. The death of Elijah Verani was a personal distress to him, while it robbed

him of his best Native counsellor and of a friendship which, despite his crimes and caprices, had told greatly to his advantage. The White traders almost blockaded Mbau; they captured a vessel laden with munitions consigned to him from Sydney. One of their leaders was reckless enough to say to Calvert: 'We intend to see this thing through. Thakombau must die; Mara and Tui Levuka shall be chiefs of Fiji; but they must rule as we wish.' Another, of more sober judgement, said: 'Mr. Calvert, it is only the death of one man, and all will be right in Fiji.' Calvert declared himself fearlessly against these designs, which he regarded not only as criminal in themselves, but as fatal to the wellbeing of Fiji. By the admission of his enemies, Thakombau was the only chief in the islands with sufficient intelligence and force to rule the people and to maintain tolerable relations with foreign powers. He had held out the hand to them at Mbau, and the Missionaries determined to stand by him. But his prospects grew darker every month. He was prostrated by illness, which brought him into fear about his soul. The assassination of his ally and late visitor, Tui Kilakila of Somosomo, increased his apprehensions, both of spiritual and temporal ruin. Town after town fell away to join the Rewan alliance; and Ratu Nggara openly exulted over the prospect of the speedy burning of Mbau and the eating of its chief.

Toward the end of April, 1854, while the storm loomed against him, Thakombau received a letter from King George Tubou, urging him to accept the *lotu*—the one means of his salvation for time and eternity. The Tongan king enclosed a letter which the late United States Consul for Fiji had published in a Sydney newspaper, denouncing Thakombau and declaring that Mbau must be swept from the face of the earth as a nest of pirates and cannibals, showing also how easily a ship-of-war could effect its destruction. The king's conscience and intelligence had for years been on the side of Christ; it was now plain that his heathen policy had brought him to the verge of ruin. His pride was broken. A few days after receiving the dispatch from Tonga he sent a messenger announcing to Mr. Waterhouse his resolve to join the *lotu* and begging the Missionaries to accept his public profession of faith. Calvert, who was still at Viwa, crossed to Mbau without delay to make the necessary arrangements.

On April 30 the mightiest man in Fiji, the chief of sinners, who represented in his person in their fullest measure the qualities and the crimes of his race, before his people bowed the knee to Jesus Christ. The death drum (*rogorogo-valu*—reporter of war), which so late as ten days ago had been beaten to announce a cannibal feast, now gave the signal for an assembly in the great hall of Mbau to worship the true God. Not only the king's family and servants, but his chief priest, stood by his side, all dressed in the *lotu* costume, to join in the worship of Jehovah. Calvert, who had so long watched and toiled for this event, was deeply moved, and could scarcely find voice to conduct the service. The priest relapsed, and attempted his old heathen tricks, until his master broke a stout stick over his back! But the king's profession proved to be no act of expediency; it was the victory of his better self, and signified the triumph of Christ over Fiji. Thakombau abolished heathen worship and customs in his town; he enforced the observance of the Sabbath; and he was exemplary in attendance at the house of God. His little boy of seven had already become a member of the Missionary's family, and had learnt to read the Bible. It was touching to see this child becoming the teacher of his parents, and to observe their wistful eagerness to understand what appeared so plain to the little one. Still Thakombau's case, so far, was that of reformation rather than regeneration, and he breathed fierce vengeance against the rebels.

The tide of war now approached Mbau itself, and the siege of the island town was imminent. The King of Rewa sent a message to Mr. Waterhouse, declaring his intention to sack and destroy the place and warning him to remove. Mr. and Mrs. Waterhouse resolved to stay 'in the midst of the danger, where they were loved and sought after by the people.' Nothing touched the Vunivalu more than this; and the inhabitants, in their deadly peril, almost with one consent sought after God and clung to their missionary friend.

When the vessel is sinking [said Thakombau] every one is anxious to provide for his own safety, as many of my relations are now doing; but you, when I am reviled, remain to perish with me!

The grace working upon him went deeper into the king's hard heart. He humbled himself to sue for peace. The Rewa

chief answered by defiance to Thakombau's new God, and by a vow to kill and eat him. A detected spy from the Rewa camp was sent back unharmed, to the amazement of the enemy; the further overtures made through this messenger were received with the same contempt as before. No help appeared for Mbau; its enemies were closing in upon it with overwhelming force, when in January, 1855, the sudden death of Ratu Nggara paralysed the assailants. The confederacy against Mbau fell to pieces; a deliverance past hope, and marvellous as the escape of Jerusalem from the grasp of Sennacherib, came to King Thakombau and his people. During the months of incessant war Calvert went to and fro preaching the Gospel of peace; repeatedly he visited Ovalau and ministered to the white community there, knowing the peril he was in as a friend of Mbau. The Binnars speedily returned to their post at Levuka. On a voyage made at the beginning of June, 1854, Calvert all but lost his life in landing at Moturiki, the neighbour island to Ovalau. He wished to preach to the islanders, and to warn them (for they were partisans of Mbau) of danger from Ovalau. An armed party on the shore, afterwards ascertained to be visitors and not Moturikan Natives,¹ rushed upon Calvert with uplifted clubs; they seem to have identified the Missionary with the Whites of Levuka, from whom they had suffered. One of the assailants recognized the white stranger as husband of the lady who had shown him kindness formerly at Viwa; intervening in his favour, this man shielded him from the clubs of his fellows. Calvert escaped, after a terrible experience; for hours there was but a step between him and death. He writes of the incident:

During the whole of the attack on me the Lord blessed me with great presence of mind and considerable firmness [enabling me] to stand up, proceed, dispute with them, and protest against their taking away my life. It appeared to me very probable that my mission and my ministry were about being ended; yet I was comforted in the assurance:

They cannot, Lord, my life devour,
Save in the hollow of Thine hand! . . .

¹ The men who attempted Calvert's life were from Ndruvi, a heathen town on the mainland seven miles from Mbau, and in revolt from its rule, whose warriors were to have led the approaching attack upon Mbau. This encounter with the Missionary, and his mild and forgiving behaviour, led to friendly intercourse with Viwa, and through Viwa with Mbau. Ndruvi was thus detached from the Rewan alliance. The town was forthwith attacked by the disappointed Rewans, with the aid of Viwa it was defended successfully, and the plan for a general assault on Mbau miscarried. Calvert saw in this issue the providential purpose of his terrifying experience on the coast of Moturiki.

I thought of the mangled body of the murdered Williams, and I was persuaded that if the Lord permitted my death, I should glorify Him in some ways that I could not have done by my life. I thought that the Natives might be thereby led to a deep consideration of the folly and evil of war. . . . I knew that I should not be eaten, even in cannibal Fiji, which was some relief to my mind. I felt thankful to Him who had preserved me to labour more than fifteen years, in which I had been employed in rough and dangerous work. It seemed to me an appropriate end of my labours in Fiji !

Happily this was not to be the case ; James Calvert was spared to the Church for nearly forty years after this misadventure. The canoe which brought him to Moturiki was chased off, and carried the news of his plight to Viwa. He was rescued and sent home by a chief from Mbau, who happened to arrive at Moturiki in the course of the day ; but for the Missionary's entreaty this man would have put to death his assailants.

The plot against the Vunivalu thickened. Under Mara's direction the Rewan forces were massed at Kamba, on the promontory enclosing the bay in which Mbau lies ; their advanced guards were rushed within striking distance of the fortress. Treason was working within the capital, and Thakombau's assassination was feared ; there were Mbauans who had foul wrongs to avenge upon their king. He attended chapel with an armed guard about him. Waterhouse sent his wife and children to Viwa for safety, but held his post at Mbau ; he even visited Kamba, where a little Methodist flock existed, at great hazard. The situation was so dark that Calvert even advised Thakombau's flight, offering to aid his escape. The king replied : ' I cannot do that. If evil comes I must die. But I think the Lord will deliver me.'¹ He made a sally, in which the enemies' vanguard were routed, while Calvert, in an interview with the chief of the Mbau fishermen, suspected of defection to Mara's side, rallied him to the king's cause. The impending fall of Mbau was again averted ; the King of Rewa began to fear his prey would escape. ' If Thakombau be a hypocrite,' he said, ' the *lotu* will only add fuel to the fire ; but if he be truly Christian, we shall not get him ! ' At this crucial juncture, when the besieging forces were already discouraged, the fatality of Ratu Nggara's death struck them with consternation.

¹ *James Calvert of Fiji*, pp. 157, 158.

A peace was then made, in fixing the terms of which Thakombau by his clemency brought forth fruits of repentance. The suzerainty of Mbau was substantially restored. Mara, however, remained an outlaw, and retained a considerable following amongst the heathen and the irreconcilable foes of Thakombau. He was still abetted by some of the white traders, who would not admit the failure of their plots. So the war was renewed in desultory fashion. Rewa was no longer dangerous ; but Mara gathered a number of renegade Mbauans around him at Kamba, and again threatened his Native town. It was under these circumstances that, in March, 1855, King George Tubou arrived to visit Thakombau, and to take over the royal canoe which had been promised him by Tui Viti. Halting at Moturiki on his way to Mbau, he dispatched a small canoe to deliver letters for Levuka, along with a complimentary gift to the king. The party was fired upon from the shores of Ovalau by men under Mara's orders, and its commander—a Tongan chief of high rank—was mortally wounded. King George had come with a view to mediation, but this outrage was an act of war against him on Mara's part. Calvert again interposed, sending a messenger with entreaties to Mara that he should tender submission and apology, and warning him of the consequences of refusal. Mara replied with defiance, whereupon Tubou joined his fleet to that of Thakombau, and the united force proceeded to the siege of Kamba.

This fort was held by hundreds of the best fighting men in Fiji, who were full of contempt for Tongan prowess ; it was deemed to be impregnable. The Tongans felt their honour at stake ; none of their countrymen would be safe in Fiji if the Ovalau murder remained unpunished. Before going into action King George held a council of his chiefs, and called a prayer-meeting, in which Friendly Islanders and Fijians united their intercessions. The Missionaries begged him to avoid, by all means possible, the destruction of life ; his plan was, he declared, to invest Kamba and reduce it by starvation. A thousand Fijians and two thousand troops moved up to the town. But so soon as the Tongans began the construction of their stockade they were attacked and several of them killed by the enemy ; at the sight of this the rest, leaping

forward in serried ranks, burst through the Kamban fence, and with a single rush stormed the place! There were not above thirty Tongan casualties in the assault. Inside the town King George's men showed unheard-of self-restraint; the 180 of the besieged who fell were mainly killed by the Fijians entering from the opposite side. But the massacre was stopped, and the life of the captive rebels spared. Mara, with a hundred of his braves, escaped by swimming; he sought refuge with his White friends in Ovalau. The storming of Kamba struck terror into all Fiji. The trained courage of the Tongan warriors, and their method of fighting, were altogether new in these islands. Mara said afterwards: 'The man is a fool who fights with Tongans; they are gods and not men!' By this stroke the war was ended; Mbau, which six months ago appeared on the point of extinction, was undisputed mistress of Fiji.

King George's subsequent doings in Fiji have been already touched upon. He bore himself with wisdom and moderation, and kept his Tongan men in excellent order. His pious exhortations edified the Fijian Churches, while his generalship and the prowess of his soldiers commanded universal admiration. Most of all, his example told upon Thakombau, who forbore the vengeance with which he had savagely threatened his enemies a few months ago. His disposition was strangely softened, and he awakened a new loyalty amongst his people. Before King George left the islands a meeting was brought about between the Vunivalu and the principal rebels—including Mara and Tui Levuka—on board H.M.S. *Herald*, commanded by Captain Denham, at which the peace previously declared was ratified and Thakombau invited a complete reconciliation.¹ Seventy towns had by this time resumed their allegiance to Mbau. That metropolis of cannibalism was transformed into a Christian town. The Strangers' House—the great hall of assembly, holding a thousand people—became a sanctuary of the One God. Chapels were built and houses opened for Christian worship through the neighbouring districts. Soon there were counted nearly 9,000 worshippers in the Mbau Circuit; enough teachers and

¹ Mara, however, remained at heart estranged. He became once more a centre of disaffection, though comparatively powerless. He raised another rebellion against Thakombau in 1858, with the aid of Tui Levuka; but this time he was captured, and, after public trial, hanged.

Preachers could not be found for the multitudes seeking the Christian way.¹

From this time Mbau became the centre of missionary operations in Fiji, Viwa willingly taking second place ; in and around Viti Levu the work of the Mission advanced by leaps and bounds. And while it found entrance to scores of places hitherto obstinately heathen, it gained in various ways a deeper character. The Native agents were inspired with fresh zeal ; the most vigorous and talented young men offered themselves to be trained for Christ's service. At the island of Nairai, under the influence of a teacher of peculiar devotion, in 1855 a signal work of the Holy Spirit took place which told upon hundreds of lives ; the chief of the town sealed his conversion by renouncing polygamy.

This step Thakombau delayed to take ; he therefore remained unbaptized until in the beginning of the year 1857 he conformed to the marriage-law of Christ. By this renunciation he forfeited an amount of wealth and influence which only a Fijian could appreciate. On January 11, 1857, the Vunivalu and his single queen took upon them the Christian vows. Joseph Waterhouse thus depicts the scene :

In the afternoon the king was publicly baptized. In the presence of God he promised to ' renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh.' . . . In accordance with my request, previously conveyed, the king then addressed the assembly. It must have cost him many a struggle to stand up before his court, his ambassadors, and the flower of his people, to confess his former sins. In time past he had considered himself a god, and had received honours almost divine ; now he humbles himself, and adores his great Creator and merciful Preserver. And what a congregation he had ! Husbands whose wives he had dishonoured ; widows whose husbands he had slain ; sisters whose relatives had been strangled by his orders ; relatives whose friends he had eaten ; and children the descendants of those he had murdered, and who had vowed to avenge the wrongs inflicted on their fathers ! A thousand stony hearts heaved with fear and astonishment as Thakombau gave utterance to the following sentiments : ' I have been a bad man. I disturbed the country. The Missionaries came, and invited me to embrace Christianity, but I said to them, I will continue to fight ! God has singularly preserved my life. At one time I thought I had been myself the instrument of my own preservation, but now I know that it was the Lord's

¹ Returning to England in November, 1855, after the fulfilment of so much of the desire of his heart for Fiji, James Calvert might almost say : ' Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word ; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation ! '

doing. I desire to acknowledge Him as the only and true God. I have scourged the world !' He was deeply affected, and spoke with diffidence.

The king chose the name of *Ebenezer*, in acknowledgement of the Divine providence which had brought him safely through the overwhelming troubles of the years 1854-55.

The final surrender of the Tui Viti to the dominion of Christ was significant of the revolution effected in central Fiji. Within the three years now ending (1854-57) the Mbau Mission (embracing the northern Viti Levu coast and a number of important islands) had risen from the last to the second place in numerical strength amongst the Circuits of the District ; its Church membership had multiplied by twentyfold, being now (including those on trial) above 2,000. Its constituency of public worshippers at the end of this period was larger than that found in the whole of Fiji at the beginning ! The transformation continued in Rewa and its Circuit was even more signal ; in this populous region 22,000 Methodist adherents were counted, whereas throughout the islands three years earlier there were less than 10,000. The scholars of the District had more than trebled their numbers, amounting to 20,000, while the teachers only increased by 50 per cent. and the supply of Local Preachers forthcoming was but twice that formerly employed—figures showing how greatly the new demands of the people overtasked the Church's agencies. Ovalau and Rotuma had been added to the former list of Circuits, raising their number from six to eight.

With the effectual conversion of Thakombau, Fiji's ' Root of War ' and its typical great man, the conquest of Fiji for the kingdom of Christ was assured and advertised. Though heathenism lingered for twenty years in the interior of the two great islands,¹ its abolition was certain. Henceforth it subsisted by the mere force of habit and tradition, and through the paucity of Christian instructors. ' How should they believe in Him whom they have not heard ? and how should they hear without a Preacher ? ' ' Truly the harvest ' of the work of the sowers in this field was ' great, and the labourers

¹ The murder of the Missionary Thomas Baker, and the devouring of his body by heathen hillmen of Viti Levu, on the Upper Rewa, in 1867, proved that Fijian savagery was then by no means extinct. Miss Gordon-Cumming, in her delightful *At Home in Fiji*, chap. xx., describes the submission of the last remaining heathen mountaineers to British rule and their acceptance of Christianity, taking place in the year 1876.

few.' The sudden culmination of the Fijian Mission coincided with the devolution of its work upon the new colonial Conference. British Methodism committed in these islands to her Australian daughter no hazardous and doubtful adventure, but a conquest achieved, a field reclaimed and fenced, with a full crop ripening in the furrows and waiting to be ingathered.

The subsequent course of affairs in Fiji belongs to the history of Australian Methodism and its missionary administration. Such a history would embrace the new difficulties which arose for Thakombau and his government after the peace of 1855, due to the financial entanglements into which he fell, beginning with his ill-judged purchase of the American ship, to the growth of Tongan power in Fiji, after King George's victory at Kamba and the ambitions and jealousies it excited,¹ and especially to the increasing number and aggressions of the white settlers, and the vexatious interference and mutual rivalries of foreign powers. The importation of foreign labour, drawn in the first instance from other South Sea Islands and subsequently from the Tamil population of India, brought new complications into Fijian life. The ever-increasing embarrassments in which the Vunivalu was thus involved, and the problems forced upon him which were beyond the solution of Native statesmanship, drove him to cede the sovereignty of Fiji to the British Crown. First offered in 1859, the cession was finally accepted in the year 1874. King Thakombau died a peaceful Christian death in 1884.

Since the year 1874 Fiji has remained a contented province of the British Empire. It had become by this date a Methodist country; unlike Tonga, Fiji has remained faithful to the Church of its redemption and undisturbed by ecclesiastical strife. A great calamity befell the islands soon after the annexation, through the pestilence of measles, in which one-third of the population are said to have perished. Other European diseases

¹ The Tongans began to form a political party in Fiji, working chiefly in the outlying islands and the backward districts of the two mainlands, where by their cleverness in trading and their skill in turning to account local feuds they often raised themselves to power at the expense of the ruder Fijians. Fiji was a land of promise to adventurers and undesirables from the Friendly Islands. The *lotu* which these immigrants professed was too often a cloak for evil designs. A Tongan chief named Maafu, related to the Tubou royal family, who settled at Lomaloma, made himself during the sixties the head of the Tongan interest, and acquired a commanding influence in Fiji, rivalling that of the Tui Viti. When the British annexation took place war was impending between Maafu and Thakombau. By this time the relations of the Vunivalu to King George had been considerably strained, and the latter was suspected—unjustly, as we may believe—of fostering Maafu's intrigues, in which more than one of the Tongan Methodist agents appear to have been implicated.

have proved lamentably fatal, and for many years there was a continuous decline in the numbers of the Native people; it is doubted whether the living Fijians are half so many as those inhabiting the islands at the first coming of the *Papalangi*. But the tide of depopulation has turned; there is hope that the Fijian, like the Samoan and the Maori race, will be preserved to humanity. Out of the present estimated population of 160,000 (including Rotuma), 90,000 are Fijians, while there are above 40,000 East Indians and about 4,000 resident Europeans in the country. Eighty-four thousand of the inhabitants are identified with the Wesleyan Church, including the vast majority of the native islanders. The Roman Catholics claim nearly 11,000, of all colours. Beside these and the Hindus, other religious bodies are insignificant in point of numbers.

The Fijian, though far from being the least industrious amongst South Sea Islanders, loves his independence, and is averse to the conditions of plantation-life. Indian coolies have been imported by the capitalist planters on a large scale, to furnish labour for the modern estates devoted to the raising of tropical produce.¹ *Hinduism* is the missionary problem of Fiji to-day. The difficulty is not peculiar to Fiji; as European occupation extends in tropical countries, and scientific industry is applied more widely to the tillage of their soil and the exploitation of their forestal and mineral wealth, Indian and Chinese labour are being enlisted in ever-growing proportions; the entire equatorial belt of the globe seems likely to be inundated from these Asiatic reservoirs of frugal industrial population. Under this flood the indigenous races of Africa and the Pacific, and the existing peoples of South and Central America, may be submerged, unless they learn to adapt themselves to the new order.

We cannot leave this chapter without a glance at Rotuma, the solitary island 300 miles north of Fiji, and, with the latter country, acknowledging the rule of the British Crown. This isle is fifteen miles long, and seven miles across at the widest; its population, estimated by Williams and Calvert half a century ago at from three to five thousand, at the last census was 2,176. The people are Polynesian in type, and differ much

¹ Sugar is now exported from Fiji to the value of £1,000,000 per annum.

from the Fijians, being smaller in size and lighter in colour ; they were far less warlike and ferocious. They have a distinct language, more akin to Fijian than to Tonguese. The island was often sighted by the early voyagers, who occasionally landed there ; the Wesleyan Mission formed plans for its occupation almost from the beginning. First a couple of Tongan, and subsequently of Fijian, teachers were settled amongst the people, and a yearly visit was paid by the Chairman of the Fiji District. In 1845 the name of ' Rotuma ' first appears on the list of Mission Stations. A gratifying success was achieved, and at one time so many as a thousand converts were reported from Rotuma. But a European Missionary was needed to consolidate the Native Church, and to provide the people with a Bible and the elements of letters. This provision was too long delayed for lack of helpers in the Fijian work ; and a heathen reaction set in. When at last, in 1859, Jesse Carey presented himself—one of the most efficient and enduring Missionaries of the early Australian period—the King of Rotuma forbade his landing ! In April, 1864, Calvert revisited the island, to find, despite the severe persecution which had but recently ceased, 1,200 professing Christians amongst the Natives, with 11 chapels in use, 22 Local Preachers, and 230 declared Church members. Class-meetings, Quarterly meetings, and lovefeasts were regularly held ; the fabric of Methodism had weathered the storm. A Missionary was eagerly desired ; the chiefs joined in the petition for his coming. William Fletcher, B.A., the ablest scholar, and one of the most devoted Ministers then on the Fijian staff, was chosen for Rotuma. Aided by his excellent wife, Fletcher mastered the language, disciplined the Church, organized the schools, provided in a few years the indispensable Bible-translation and lesson-books, and set the life of the little Rotuman people on a Christian basis.

During the time of Methodist neglect Romanism obtained a footing here, and has fought hard to counterwork the purer Gospel. To-day the Methodist Church of Rotuma numbers a membership of about 600, with perhaps 1,500 adherents, and employs a single White Missionary, assisted by several Native colleagues.

The story of the Christian conquest of Fiji may close with some sentences from Miss Gordon-Cumming's account of the transformation effected in these islands of blood and horror, as

she witnessed its fruits in 1876, twenty years subsequently to the epoch at which our history ends.

I often wish [this lady writes]¹ that some of the cavillers who are for ever sneering at Christian Missions could see something of these results. But first they would have to recall the old Fiji, in which every man's hand was against his neighbour . . . in which the foe, without respect of age or sex, were looked on as so much *beef* and the prisoners were deliberately fattened for the slaughter. Think of the sick buried alive ; the array of widows strangled on the death of any great man ; the living victims buried beside every post of a chief's new house ; or those who were . . . laid on the ground to act as rollers when a chief launched a new canoe, and thus doomed to a death of excruciating agony ; of a time when there was not the slightest security for life or property . . . where whole villages were depopulated to supply their neighbours with fresh meat ! . . .

Now you may pass from isle to isle, certain everywhere to find the same cordial reception by kindly men and women. Every village on the eighty inhabited islands has built for itself a tiny church, and a good house for its teacher or Native Minister, for whom the village also provides food and clothing. . . . Can you realize that there are nine hundred Wesleyan churches in Fiji, at which the frequent services are crowded by devout congregations . . . and that the first sound which greets your ear at dawn, and the last at night, is that of hymn-singing and most fervent worship, rising from each dwelling at the hour of family prayer ?

What these people may become after much contact with the common run of white men we cannot tell, though we may unhappily guess. At present they are a body of simple and devout Christians, full of deepest reverence for their teachers and the message they bring, and only anxious to yield all obedience.

Whatever discount may be made upon Miss Cumming's account of Fijian Methodist Christianity, in view of the fact that she went about in Fiji an admired and fêted visitor, the guest of the British Governor, her testimony was that of an observant, shrewd, and much-travelled woman, who took the best means of informing herself, and who had a generous sympathy for honest and brave work done anywhere in the service of God and humanity.

¹ pp. 62, 63, of *At Home in Fiji*.

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